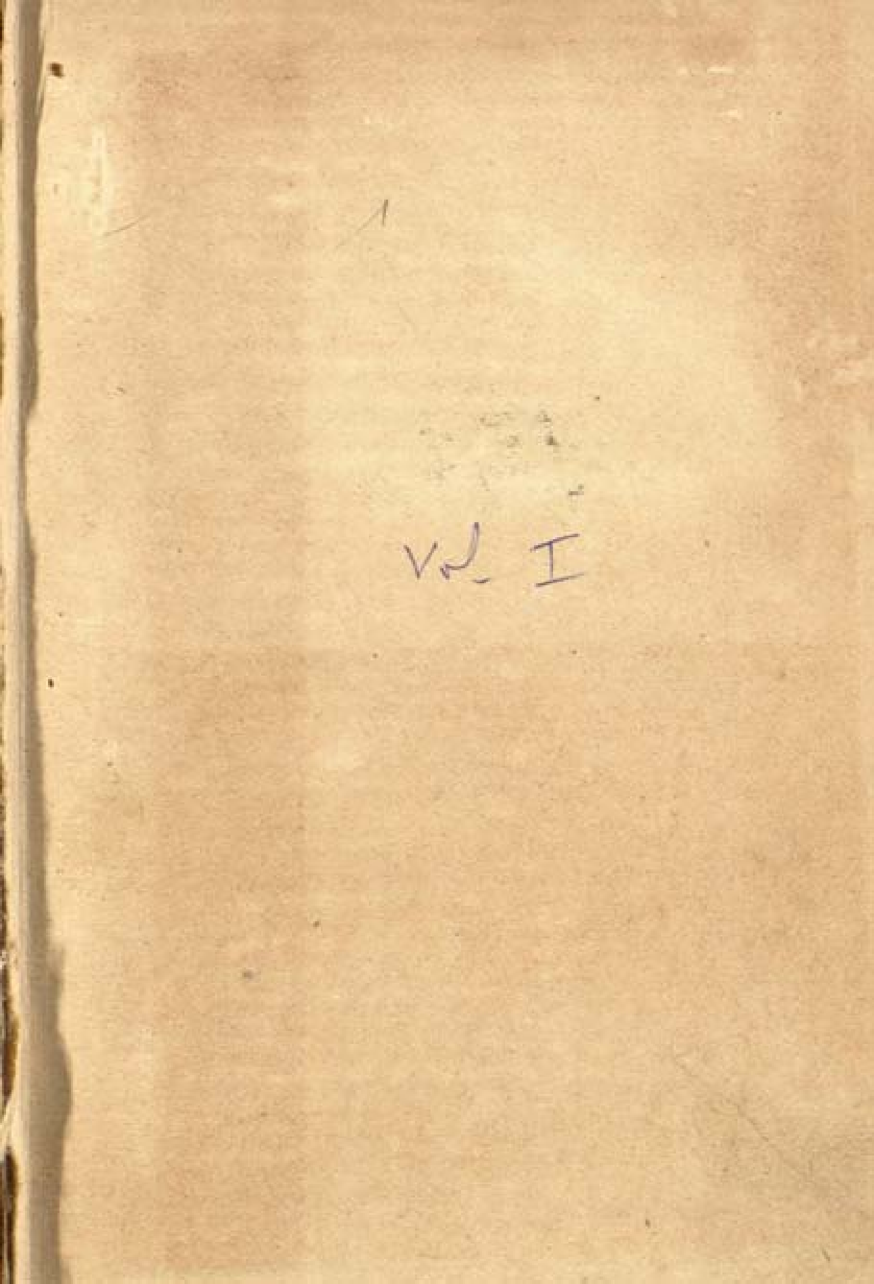

Vol. I

RÂS MÂLÂ



GATE OF A HINDOO CITY FROM JUNJOOWARA

RÂS MÂLÂ

रास माला

Hindoo Annals of the Province
of Goozerat in Western India

By ALEXANDER KINLOCH FORBES
Of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Service

EDITED WITH HISTORICAL NOTES AND APPENDICES

By H. G. RAWLINSON
Indian Educational Service

WITH THE ORIGINAL ILLUSTRATIONS

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CONTENTS

BOOK I

BOOK II

ILLUSTRATIONS TO VOL. I

EDITOR'S NOTE

When preparing the biographical notice of Forbes, I have used principally the excellent memoir (in Gujarāti) by Mr. Mansakarām Surjarām, Hon. Secretary of the *Gujarāti Sabhā*; the obituary notices which appeared in contemporary journals (particularly an extremely able article in the *Times of India*, Sept. 4, 1865); and the biographical sketch by Mr. A. K. Nairne which is prefixed to the 1878 edition of *Rās Mālā*.

For the historical notes, I have relied chiefly on the authoritative articles in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I (1896), by Pandit Bhagvanlāl Indrājī on the Hindu period, and by Col. Watson on the Muhammedan period of Gujarāt history. The lists of dynasties and inscriptions in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vols. V, VII, VIII and X, by Kielhorn and Lüders, have also been consulted, as well as Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians* (1867–77), and Bayley's *History of Gujarāt* (1886). These additional notes are enclosed in square brackets.

After the proofs of Volume I had been passed the Editor received a large amount of fresh information upon Gujarāt. This has been given in the Appendix at the end of the volume, references to which are marked in the text or notes by an asterisk, &c.

I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Principal A. B. Dhruva, of the Central Hindu College, Benares, and to Professor S. H. Hodivala, of the Bahuddin College, Junāgarh, for much valuable information and assistance. Mr. W. Crooke, C.I.E., has been good enough to revise the proofs.

Dharwar, 1916. H. G. RAWLINSON.

ALEXANDER KINLOCH FORBES

A MEMOIR

ALEXANDER KINLOCH FORBES, author of the *Rās Mālā*, was born in London in July 1821. He was educated privately, and was articled to a firm of architects after leaving school. It is to this early training that he subsequently owed his knowledge of Indian Architecture, and the skill as a draughtsman which he turned to such admirable use in his illustrations to his great work. In 1840, he received a nomination to the Honourable East India Company's service, and at once went to Haileybury to undergo the course of instruction prescribed by the Company for its future servants. Passing out in 1843, he sailed for Bombay, where he arrived in November. He was then sent to Ahmednagar as Assistant Collector. In 1846 he was transferred to Ahmedabad as Assistant Judge, and there he quickly became absorbed in the study of the ancient literature and legends of Gujarāt. In 1848, as he tells us in his Preface, he met Dalpatrām Dāyā, a learned *Kaveśvar*, or poet, of Wadwān, who helped him to make acquaintance with the old ballads and chronicles of the country. He began at the same time to collect and copy manuscripts bearing upon Gujarāti history,[1] and he relates how his interest in such documents was first aroused by coming across a quaint old deed of settlement of a blood feud between two Rājput families.[2] He also encouraged the *Bhāts* and *Chārans*, the hereditary minstrels of the Rājput clans, to come and recite their ballads to him. In 1852, when he became Political Agent for Mahi Kāntā, he gained further opportunities for closer acquaintance with the Rājput chiefs, and a knowledge of local conditions, which he afterwards employed to good effect. While he was stationed at Ahmedabad, he founded the Gujarāt Vernacular Society, a most valuable institution which did a great deal towards rescuing the vernacular from the neglected and semi-

[1] Among these were Hemachandra's *Dvyāśraya*, and Meratunga's *Prabandha Chintāmani*.

[2] See p. xx, *infra*.

barbarous condition into which it had then fallen. The object of this Society was to publish translations of standard works in Gujarāti, to give prizes for original essays on Indian subjects, and to promote interest in Oriental learning. One of these essays, on the subject of *Bhūts* or Spirits, by Dalpatrām Dāyā, which won the prize in 1849, was translated by Forbes in 1850, and incorporated in the last chapter of *Rās Mālā*. It is a very interesting contribution to the study of Hindu folklore, and shows the value of the work which was being done by the Society. A vernacular school and newspaper were also started through the same agency. Forbes, who had by this time learnt to speak Gujarāti with exceptional correctness and fluency, by these means acquired the confidence of the people to a degree unusual among Europeans, and obtained much information not ordinarily accessible.

In March 1854, Forbes went to England on long leave. He at once set to work upon the *Rās Mālā*, supplementing the materials he had collected in India by means of the records preserved in the India Office. *Rās Mālā* was published, in two octavo volumes, in 1856, by Richardson Brothers, 23 Cornhill. As already mentioned, it is illustrated by a number of fine coloured plates, chiefly architectural, which show that Forbes was an artist of talent and distinction. The work was published at the author's expense, although the Government of Bombay afterwards subscribed for forty copies, to be distributed among the public offices of Gujarāt.

In the cold weather of 1856, Forbes returned to India. He was posted to Surat as Acting Judge and Agent to the Governor. About this time, he began to contribute to the *Bombay Quarterly Review*, a periodical which had been started in 1854 upon the lines of the *Edinburgh Review* and other journals then in vogue in England. The *Bombay Quarterly* devoted itself principally to reviews of books bearing upon Indian subjects, and was the mouthpiece of the more intellectual circles in Western India upon contemporary questions. India was then on the eve of the Mutiny, and in his contributions, Forbes discussed with great frankness some of the causes of unrest as they appeared to him. The chief of these, in his opinion, was the attitude of the Government to the landowners and native rulers. The former had been

annoyed and alarmed by the Inām Commission. The latter had been equally disturbed by the attitude of the Company on the question of succession. The doctrine of lapse had been applied on several occasions, and the Government declined to announce definitely what their policy on these questions was to be. Their object, says Forbes, was apparently 'to reduce society to a dead level of labouring ryots, and in order to carry out this theory, they would in every case, when they had the opportunity, annex the territories of native princes and confiscate the lands of vassal chieftains '.[1] To Forbes, this course seemed unjust and impolitic. 'It seems absurd,' he says, 'that the succession to estates which have belonged to the same family from the days when our ancestral Britons painted and tattooed their skins, should require the confirmation of any body of men either in India or out of it. We believe that this asserted right of the Honourable Court has done more to arouse suspicion and disloyalty than the annexation of half a dozen principalities would do.'[2] Forbes was quite aware that the government in native states at that date was by no means beyond criticism. Of the rājas he says, however, that 'as a class, they may be charged with faults of omission rather than commission. There is, of course, some petty oppression, but this usually falls on individuals. . . . A sleepy, indulgent, *dolce far niente* kind of spirit pervades these states and is probably not unacceptable to the inhabitants, who have as little love of innovation and comprehend improvement as little as their masters.'[3] Reform and improvement, Forbes recognized, must come from without, if they are to come at all. The remedy lay, not in a policy of wholesale annexation, but in establishing a civil service with sufficient tact, sympathy, and knowledge of the people, to be able to guide the administration of the native states along proper lines. India required, if we may borrow a hackneyed phrase, men rather than measures. 'The chiefs, it must be remembered,' Forbes wrote, 'know the Government mainly as it manifests itself to them in the conduct and demeanour of its representative. . . . He has to perform the duties alternately of a Magistrate, of a Political Officer, of a Civil and Criminal

[1] *Bombay Quarterly*, vii, 195. [2] Ibid. iii, 371.
[3] Ibid. iii, 374.

Judge: and to discharge these efficiently his most obvious want is *Experience*, experience involving a practical knowledge of land-tenures, of the reciprocal relations of the chiefs and their subjects and tenants, of the history, connexions, usages and precedents of each family, in addition to the general usages of all families of rank. These are the peculiar qualifications of a Political Officer; in addition to which he needs also the usual qualifications of every Mofussil functionary—accessibility, temper, patience, firmness, and a love for the work given him to do *for its own sake*.'[1] The same warning was repeated in an article on Sir John Malcolm, written in July 1857, at a time when the Mutiny was at its height. 'It is melancholy to think how little our late conduct in India has accorded with the wise principles of Sir John Malcolm. These do not apply, of course, with equal force to protected territories and to long-settled provinces; but there is much in them which is of universal application, and which it must concern every thinking man to see disregarded. We cannot, especially, regard without anxiety the rapid growth, among both our military and civil officers, of a supercilious contempt for everything which relates to the customs and feelings of India. In the same ratio that statistical knowledge increases and is applauded, it would appear that the knowledge of *men* declines and becomes despised. It is seldom that a native now finds the 'four doors open', less often perhaps still, that when he gains admittance he meets with either knowledge of, or sympathy with, himself within. And so the alienation of Indians from Englishmen gradually but surely proceeds, until a spark falls upon the smouldering mass, and then the very men who served with Malcolm, who would have given their lives for him—the very corps which bear the name of the scene of his great victory, discard their allegiance with disgust and join themselves to the perpetrators of insolent revolt, brutal violation, and most inhuman murder.'[2]

Meanwhile Forbes had plenty of opportunities for putting his principles into practice. Gujarāt had not escaped the contagion of the Mutiny. The country was full of the wildest rumours, A consignment of salt having become stained with red ochre, the cry was raised that the Government was defiling the salt

[1] *Bombay Quarterly*, iii, 376. [2] Ibid. vi, 139.

with cow's blood. A pariah dog, carrying a basket of food, was mysteriously circulated from village to village, causing feelings of vague unrest wherever it appeared. At Broach there was a serious riot between Parsis and Muhammadans, and military revolts took place at Ahmedabad, Mount Ābu, Pāñch Mahāls, and other centres. Baroda was known to be in a very doubtful condition and the situation was generally critical throughout the rainy season of 1857, when our prestige in northern India had not yet recovered from the blow it had received earlier in the year, and the state of the roads rendered the movement of troops difficult. It was not till January 1858, when Ahmedabad was disarmed, that conditions became better. Forbes, however, never despaired. 'We are all right here,' he writes to a friend, 'though some of us very absurdly alarmed, and people who know nothing of what has gone on for the last thirty years very distrustful of the Gaikwar, the Rājput chiefs and everybody in general.' In May 1858, the situation had so far improved that Forbes was transferred to Khāndesh as Acting Judge, having received the thanks of the Government for his work at Surat. In November came the Queen's Proclamation, of which he thoroughly approved. 'It acts as a sedative visibly,' he writes, 'and if these principles continue to be acted on, as I trust they may, we shall be able to laugh rebellion to scorn.' In 1859 Forbes received from Lord Elphinstone the important office of acting Political Agent in Kāthiāwār. Here serious work had to be taken in hand. The Wāghers of Okhamandal had risen in rebellion against the Gaikwar, seized Barwāla, Dwārka, and the island of Beyt, and threatened the surrounding country. This brave and turbulent tribe was subdued only after severe fighting. The country was then systematically settled, and a political officer was appointed to Dwārka. The Wāghers were encouraged to take to farming instead of brigandage for a livelihood, and a Wāgher battalion was formed to give employment to the more adventurous spirits. For his management of affairs in Kāthiāwār, Forbes again received the thanks of Government, and in March 1860, he resumed his appointment as acting Judge at Surat. In March 1861, when Mr. Henry Anderson went on furlough, he was appointed Acting Secretary to Government by Sir George Clerk. In December of the same

year he was made Judge of the Sadar Adaulat, becoming a Judge of the High Court in August 1862.

While in Bombay, Forbes undertook a task thoroughly congenial to him. The Gujarāt Vernacular Society, which he had founded at Ahmedabad in 1848, had been restricted by lack of funds and paucity of enlightened supporters. Bombay offered wider scope. It was a centre of Oriental learning, and abounded in wealthy Gujarātis. Accordingly, in April 1864, the Gujarāti Sabhā was formed, Forbes being elected first President. Among its warmest supporters were Sir Alexander Grant, Mr. Justice Newton, Dr. J. Wilson, Dr. Martin Haugh, Dr. Bhau Dāji, and other Orientalists of repute. A sum of Rs.65,000 was collected, among the contributors being Sir J. Jeejeebhoy and seventeen chiefs of Gujarāt. The objects of this society were

(1) the collection of ancient MSS. relating to Gujarāt ; (2) The translation of standard works into Gujarāti ; and (3) The encouragement of original works in Gujarāti by offering prizes to authors.

In the same year, Forbes was offered the Presidency of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in succession to the Hon. Mr. William Frere, but with characteristic modesty he declined the honour. He was, however, appointed by Sir Bartle Frere Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University in succession to Sir Alexander Grant. This post, alas, he was not destined to enjoy for any length of time. In the summer of 1864 his friends on the Bench remarked that he appeared to be seriously unwell. His complaint was diagnosed as disease of the brain, probably brought on by over twenty years of unremitting labour in a trying climate. He went to Poona for a change of air, but rapidly sank, and passed away on August 31, at the early age of forty-three.

The news of Forbes' death was received with profound grief all over the Presidency, and especially in his beloved Gujarāt. The chieftains of Kāthiāwār, it was said at the time, mourned for him as if they had lost a member of their own families. 'He was a thorough English gentleman in every sense of the word', a prominent Hindu scholar declared, in speaking of his decease ; 'with the greatest kindness and generosity of nature, he united

manly firmness and the highest principles of honour; and it was the striking combination of these qualities that had endeared him to all classes of people in Saurāshtra and Gujarāshtra (wherein he was mostly employed), from the noblest Rājput chief to the meanest peasant.' Forbes was a true friend of India, and a profound lover of her ancient institutions, art, and literature. Unlike the modern champions of Indian rights and liberties, he was no democrat; indeed, he upheld the rights of the hereditary chiefs against those reformers who desired to sweep them aside as obstacles in the way of progress. Nor did he hold that the Indian problem could be solved, once and for all, in the course of a cold-weather tour, or even in the life-time of one generation. In his own words, 'He knew that changes must come and he desired that they should come, but he was anxious that they should be based upon a sound knowledge on the part of the ruler, and be accompanied by a cheerful acquiescence on the part of the governed; and he was sure that to be so, they must proceed slowly. These were the modes of acting which Malcolm impressed upon the many able and gallant young officers of his 'school'; but the substratum of all their efforts was to be an intimate and masterly knowledge of the topography of the country, and of the history, character, and customs of the inhabitants.' Forbes was a profound believer in *personality* as the chief qualification for success in Indian administration, and deeply admired people of the type of Malcolm, Duncan, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and the Lawrences, earnest, accomplished men, who understood the people and were not afraid to act on their own initiative. Forbes is himself a good example of the 'Malcolm School' which he so often praises in his writings, the school of administrators which laid the foundations of our Empire in western India.

In private life, Forbes is described as being simple and retiring. His modesty on subjects of which he was an acknowledged master was well known. He married early, had a large family, and mixed little in Anglo-Indian society. He was a devout Christian of the old school, and was liberal in his gifts to charitable objects. His death was a severe blow to literature. The *Bombay Quarterly*, which had recently lost another valuable supporter in the Rev. Philip Anderson (author of *The English*

in Western India, 1854), did not long survive him. The Gujarāti Sabhā decided to call itself the *Forbes* Gujarāti Sabhā, and in 1869 published a valuable Gujarāti translation of the *Rās Mālā*, with original annotations by a well known scholar, Mr. Ranchodbhai Udayarām; while Mr. Mansukharām Surjarām, the Hon. Secretary of the Sabhā, published a memoir of his life. In 1868, a sum of Rs.5,000 presented to the Bombay University provided funds for a Forbes Gold Medal and Prize, founded in honour of its late Vice-Chancellor. Memories are short in India, where the official is at best a bird of passage, but visitors to Gujarāt will still find the name of Forbes held in affectionate remembrance among those whose fathers served under him, and who know how much the literature and history of their country owe to his labours.

The *Rās Mālā* is the only work on a large scale by Forbes, though his contemporaries looked upon his articles in the *Bombay Quarterly* with equal interest; and it is a pity that such notable contributions to the problems of Indian administration should be locked away in the pages of a defunct journal. But *Rās Mālā* is something of higher value. It is a work for all time, a κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί, which will always find an audience, 'fit but few,' among those who love the chivalry of mediaeval India. Forbes has done for the Rājputs of Gujarāt, what Tod did for Rajasthān and Grant Duff for the Marāthas, while in some ways he excels either. Forbes loved the people of whom he wrote, and was never happier than when recounting some old ballad of their gallant deeds. Few can read unmoved the stories, related in the simple fashion of the bardic chronicles, of those two great Rājput women, Rānik Devi, Rā Khengār's bride, and Veermuttee Chowree, wife of Jug Dev Purmār.

In *Rās Mālā* we have displayed before us the whole pageant of mediaeval India, from the warriors with their interminable feuds to the silent marble shrines, where 'dimly visible by the faint light of silver lamps, female votaries, glittering in scarlet and gold, move round and round in circles, chanting forth their monotonous but not unmelodious hymns'. We read of the Rājput courts, the tragedy of Somnāth, Ahmed Shāh and the mighty Muhammad Begaḍa, the incursions of the Marāthās, and finally, the coming of the English. As history, indeed, *Rās*

Mālā has its defects. The author was no archaeologist, and had little or nothing to say upon the early history of Gujarāt. He was unable to clear up the tangle of legend obscuring the Valabhi dynasty and their immediate successors, and on some points, as for instance the Muhammadan invasion of the kingdom of Anahilvāda, was hopelessly wrong. But it must be remembered that Forbes lived before the researches of Dr. Bühler and of Pandit Bhagvānāl Indrāji had thrown light upon these subjects, and many important historical works, since published, were at that time not available. Forbes, too, strictly confines his attention to the Hindu, that is to say, the Rājput, side of the history of Gujarāt, the Muhammadans and Marāthās being only incidentally mentioned. Forbes judged the Marāthās severely, regarding them as intruders, and feeling unable to forgive them for plundering the Rājput domains.[1] Perhaps the permanent value of *Rās Mālā*, apart from its literary interest, lies chiefly in the fact that it preserves many precious fragments of old ballads, traditions, and family legends, which are perishing every day, and once lost, will be irrecoverable. As we have seen, the author had unique opportunities for collecting such fragments. He has used them admirably. The wonderful account of the ceremonies and customs of Gujarāt—the marriages, funerals, religion and superstitions, the minstrels, and the systems of land-tenure, in the last book is as invaluable to the student as it is fascinating to the general reader.

[1] 'Up to this day the Mahratta, even among the Hindus of Guzarat, is looked on as an interloper. The Mahratta forces were always known as Ghuneem's or Plunderer's Horse.' *Bombay Quarterly*, vol. iii, p. 361.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

To ancient India—a subject attractive to the historian and the scholar—much attention has been directed; the more humble task of investigating its mediaeval story has been comparatively little attempted. If, however, the days of Asoka and of Chundragoopt afford a nobler field of enquiry, it should not, on that account, be forgotten that the times which are less remote are more practically connected with existing Hindoostan. Modern India, moreover, affords a safe basis from which to stretch forward to immediately preceding times, while as long as these shall continue to be covered with darkness, it is but a hazardous task to grasp at the light, however splendid, which shines beyond them. The stranger, who is for any length of time resident in the land of the Hindoos, can hardly fail to notice many customs and usages of that people which are evidently relics of a state of society not long gone by—visions, as it were, of a noble vessel, whose phantom-like outline, if only by an illusion such as that which produces the Fata Morgana, exhibits, in exalted reflection, these existing things. The very remains of Moslem power themselves are most strongly impressed with the character of the race whose rule was supplanted by that of the crescent, and from even these we might have gathered the fact that many a splendid metropolis must have adorned the plains of Aryaverta before the avalanche of Mohummedan invasion fell from the western mountains upon the land. We have, however, more definite traces of these glories of by-gone days, and can picture to ourselves, at least in outline, the gorgeous Kanouj, the mysterious Yogeeneepoor, the almost fabulous metropolis of Bhoj. Nor did the cities which we have mentioned exist alone. The monarchs of Kuleeán extended their sway over a territory more ample still than that which owned the supremacy of either, and equal, at least, to the Purmâr, the Chohân, or the Râthor was the Solunkhee of Unhilpoor.

It is to the story of the city of Wun Râj, and of the Hindoo

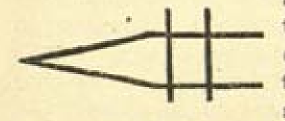
principalities and chieftainships which sprang up amidst its ruins, and which have, many of them, continued in existence to the present day, that the reader's attention is in the present work invited. I am well aware that my subject—not only Indian, but also local, as it is—is likely to be one of but little general interest, nor am I blind to many of my own deficiencies in its treatment. Eight years' residence in Goozerat, and much association, public and private, with its varied people, from the banks of the Taptee to those of the Bunás, may, however, have given me some advantages.

While at the outset disclaiming, on my own part, all pretensions to Oriental learning, I have, nevertheless, to mention that I have received from Hindoo scholars assistance which, though it detract from the merit of the compiler, will not be thought to lessen the value of the compilation.

To the late Peerchundjee Bhundâree, a native of Marwar and a Jain by religion, who, though a member of the commercial class, which is usually indifferent to literature, was a proficient in both the classical and the popular lore of his nation, I am obliged, first, for the gift of a copy of the Prubundh Chintâmunee, and, secondly, for indispensable assistance in translating it.

To Dulputrâm Dâyâ, a Brahmin, and a native of Wudwân, on the frontier of Soreth, I am still more widely indebted.

I had not been very long in Goozerat when, in the course of my public employment, a paper was placed before me which bore the characteristic signatures of two bards.[1] My curiosity was excited; I made enquiries, and sought the acquaintance of such of the class as were within my reach. Of the treasures of the bardic repertoire I thus obtained a glimpse which stimulated instead of satisfying me. I soon felt that native assistance was absolutely necessary both to enable me to overcome the scruples of those who possessed the legendary hoard in which I desired to participate, and also to furnish me with some knowledge of the bardic dialect, which was required as a means of unlocking the casket in which the



[1] This paper will be found translated in the note at p. 74–5, vol. ii.

treasure was contained. Good fortune brought early to my notice the name of the Kuveshwur, or poet,—for with that title, Dulputrâm is invested by the suffrage of his countrymen,—and I secured his services in A.D. 1848. From that period my valuable co-adjutor has been almost constantly by my side. It was some time before our efforts met with any success, although I furnished him with the means of making the tour of a considerable portion of Goozerat, with the view of collecting chronicles and traditions, and of copying inscriptions. It might, perhaps, amuse, but would certainly weary, the reader were I to describe the numerous obstacles which we found opposed to us, by ignorance, jealousy, and avarice. Sufficient notion of these will be conveyed when I mention the facts that I was sometimes believed to be employed in searching for concealed treasure, that at other times my object was supposed to be that of detecting flaws in the titles to lands with the view of their assumption by government, and that it was frequently hinted to me that the proper return for permission to extract from a bardic record would be the presentation of *a village* to the family of the recorder. Subsequently, however, my official duties brought me into personal contact with the chiefs of the Wâghela, Jhâlâ, and Gohil clans, and I soon discovered that a hint from one of these traditionally-honored feudal lords was far more influential than any entreaties which I could use, or any advantages which I could offer. As Political Agent in the Myhee Kântâ I found these facilities extended not only to the clans of that province, but also to the Guikowâr territories (from the authorities of which I had received at least one previous rebuff), and through the kindness of Bâbâ Sahib, the worthy lieutenant of the Baroda government at Puttun, I secured a copy of the Dwyâshrây, and other valuable materials from the very centre of interest—the site of Unhilpoor.

My researches, pursued, as they necessarily were, in the hours of relaxation from tolerably heavy official duties, were not confined to the Jain and the bardic chronicles ; I availed myself also of every opportunity of observing Hindoo popular customs, more especially such as were alluded to in the writings and traditions which I collected ; I procured copies of inscriptions on temples, wells, and tombstones, and I examined every remnant

of Hindoo architecture which I found myself able to visit. In this last department of enquiry much assistance was furnished me by Premchund Sulât, the able architect of the new Jain temple at Ahmedabad, and by two very intelligent persons of the carpenter caste—the late Turbhowundâs, and Bhoodhur Dâyârâm.

Meanwhile the Goozerat Vernacular Society sprung up, and the Kuveshwur, who was well prepared for the purpose, won prizes for two essays,—on popular superstitions in Goozerat, and on Hindoo castes—of both of which I have made much use in the Fourth Book of the present work.

My return, for a limited period, to England, and the valuable permission of the Honorable the Court of Directors of the East India Company to my inspecting the records at the India House for the purpose of illustrating my collections, have enabled me to complete my labors. The result is now placed before the public in the hope that, unworthy as it is, it may still be of use to the local officer, and may interest some few even of my countrymen at home, in the fortunes of their fellow-subjects—*the Hindoos in Goozerat.*

In imitation of the titles of some of the legends from which it is derived, I have called my compilation 'Râs Mâlâ,' or 'A Garland of Chronicles.'[1]

[1] As the present work is wholly popular, and advances no pretensions to a scientific character, I have used the common form in spelling names which are in daily use, and I have, in other cases, adopted the mode of spelling which experience has shown me to be most readily accepted by the general reader. Thus, for the correct *Khumbâyut*, I use *Cambay*, a word which has established itself in English literature; and, for the classical *Anhilpur*, I substitute the popular *Unhilpoor*, which is to be pronounced according to the usual sound of the vowels in English. I have, however, taken the liberty of accenting one letter, the long *â*, as in Râs Mâlâ. Wherever it occurs it should be pronounced as the a in *Mario*. May I trouble the reader so far as to add, that the *ye* in *Jye Singh*, *Shutroonjye*, &c., should be pronounced as the *y* in *why*, *by*, &c., or as the *igh* in *high*.

[The system of spelling Indian names and words adopted by the author, although somewhat uncouth in appearance, fulfils his purposes sufficiently well and could not be transposed with satisfactory results. An attempt to change the spelling into more fashionable forms certainly would involve not only immense labour but many mistakes.

The spelling 'Goozerat' represents the Persian 'Guzarāt'. The Hindu form 'Gujarāt' is preferable as indicating that the province is

named after the Gūjar or Gurjara tribe. The tribal name 'Wāghela' is more commonly written 'Bāghela'. 'Wushisht' (I. 254) is the Sanskrit *Vaśishtha*. 'Nārondās' (I. 377) seems to be intended for 'Nārāyan Dās'.

The following names, Bhownugger, Eedur, Myhee, Oujein, Sâbharmutee, Shutroonjye, are equivalent respectively to Bhavnagar, Īdar, Mahī, Ujjain, Sābarmatī, and Shetrunja or Satruñjaya of the *Imperial Gazetteer* (1908).

The editor believes that readers will not experience serious difficulty in identifying other names or words.]

BOOK I

RÂS MÂLÂ

CHAPTER I

NATURAL BOUNDARIES OF GOOZERAT—SHUTROONJYE—WULLUBHEEPOOR

THE province of Goozerat, in Western India, is composed of two portions—the one of these is continental, the other is peninsular and projects into the Arabian Sea nearly opposite the coast of Oman, and below that of Mekran and Sindh. Hindoos usually assume the river Nerbudda to be the southern boundary of the continental portion, or Goozerat proper. The language of the province is, however, spoken much further to the south—as far even as Damaun, or St. John's, about half-way between the mouth of the river and Bombay. Stretching northwards from the banks of the Nerbudda, a range of hills connecting the Vindhya with the Arawullee mountains, forms the eastern and northern barrier of Goozerat, and separates it from Malwa, Mewar, and Marwar. The Gulf of Kutch and a salt, and sometimes partially inundated, desert called the Runn are the boundaries of the province on the north-west and west; the Arabian Sea and the Gulf of Cambay wash its southern and south-western shores. The least protected part of this frontier line, and that by which Goozerat has usually been invaded, is on the north-west, where a sandy plain intervenes between the desert and the foot of Mount Aboo.

The mountains which bound Goozerat on the north and east, and which project numerous branches into the nearest parts of the province, are steep, craggy, and difficult of access. The shoulders of the hills and the valleys which intervene between the spurs are covered with forest. From the dark shadow of these woods numerous streams emerge, whose lofty banks are indented by long, deep, and intricate ravines, and overgrown

with almost impenetrable underwood. As the plains are approached, and the forest disappears the rivers widen and become less wild in their character; they unite at length in one or other of the three great arteries—the Sâbhermutee, the Myhee, and the Nerbudda, and eventually discharge their waters into the Gulf of Cambay. Nearly the whole of the south-west portion of Goozerat, a tract of country sixty miles deep, extending from the Runn of Kutch to the banks of the Nerbudda, along the frontier of the peninsula and the northern and eastern shores of the Gulf of Cambay, is an open and alluvial plain; much of this fertile tract, and especially that part of it which lies between the Sâbhermutee and the Myhee, is covered with noble groves of trees, many of them, the mango and others, bearing fruit and exhibiting foliage of the most brilliant colour—'it may vie,' says the historian of the Mahrattas, 'for hundreds of miles with the finest parks of the nobles of England.' The hill country also, though some of it is neglected, exhibits great fertility wherever it is cultivated. The fields are well taken care of, and covered with fine crops; mangoes and other planted trees are even here unusually numerous, and, as the surface is undulating and the wood and mountains often in sight, 'no part of India,' as Mr. Elphinstone remarks, 'presents a richer or more agreeable prospect.'

About twenty miles from the extremity of the lesser Runn of Kutch in a south-easterly direction, commences a large lake of brackish water which stretches towards the head of the Gulf of Cambay, and forms a boundary between Goozerat proper and the peninsula of Soreth or Kâteewar. It is probable that in former days the separation was even more complete, and that Soreth was in fact an Island.[1]

There is on the western shore of the Gulf of Cambay, a few miles to the north of Bhownugger, a range of granite hills, which, lying in a country level as an unruffled lake, seems like a cluster of islands floating on the waves. From the summit of one of these rugged peaks which overhangs the village of Chumârdee may be beheld a scene surpassed by few in India

[1] For information on this subject see Major Fulljames's paper in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. v, p. 109. See also Elphinstone's *India*, vol. i, p. 558. Edit. 1841.

in the variety and interest of its historical and legendary association.

Surrounded by apparently wave-hollowed cavities which countenance the traditional belief that the rocks of Chumârdee were once washed by the waters of the ocean, the spectator beholds stretched before him on the north and east, and extending beyond the horizon, a vast and level plain of black soil, covered annually with crops of wheat or cotton (except where, as it approaches the high tides of the gulf, it wears a salt and desolate fringe), and broken only by the streams which vainly struggle to force their way eastwards along its surface. There may be observed, sluggishly creeping along its winding bed in the heats of summer, or in the rains furiously tearing its way towards the ocean, the river which washed the walls of the magnificent Wullubhee. There too may be traced the salt-water creek called 'the Bhownugger' or '*the former*' river which of old bore seawards the argosies of the still mysterious race of Kunuksen, and which, though ridden now by poor and scanty sails, exhibits some vestiges of its former greatness as it rushes by the town from whence it derives its name, and passing the port of Gogo, precipitates itself with headlong fury into the channel that separates from the main land of Soreth the curious and interesting islet of Peerum. In this plain, a few miles to the north of Chumârdee, lie the modern town of Wulleh (now a chieftainship of the Rajpoot Gohils) and the remains of the ancient City of Wullubheepoor, and further on, as if to continue the historical interest of the scene, a tall minaret shows the town of Loleeyânah, where for many years the lieutenants of the Mohummedan emperors collected the revenues of the province, while close beside the fallen mosque the vulgar Mahratta has built his snug temple and placed upon its front the following badly spelt and rudely engraved inscription :—

'Shree Shiva's foot-impress with assiduity Dâmâjee Guikowâr continually worships. Sumwut 1794. (A. D. 1738).'

On turning to the south, the spectator standing on the hill of Chumârdee, would, however, behold an outline, diversified by mountain ranges ; a few miles inland and somewhat to the south of Peerum, rise the Khokurâ hills ; nearer and more to the west, a rocky range encircles the 'Lion city' Seehore,

and still westwards, in the distance, the noble form of the sacred mountain Shutroonjye, crowned with a rocky upper hill, covered with palatial edifices, rears itself above the towers and minarets of Pâleetânâ.

The holy mountain of Shutroonjye, sacred to Âdeenâth,[1] the first of the twenty-four hierophants of the Jains, rises to the height of nearly two thousand feet above the plains. The pilgrim approaching it passes to the base of the mountain, through the town of Pâleetânâ, and along a road on either side of which rows of burr-trees afford him a cloister-like shelter from the heat of the sun. After a toilsome ascent of from two to three miles upon the shoulder of the mountain, over a path marked on either side by frequent resting places, supplied with wells and pools of water, and adorned with small temples, whose altars are impressed with the holy feet of the hierarchs, he at length arrives in sight of the island-like upper hill, formed of rocks of very beautiful color, upon which stand the shrines of his religion. It consists of two peaks, divided by a valley which has been partially filled in, and covered with temples, terraces, and gardens. The whole is surrounded by a fortified wall, supplied in places with embrasures for cannon, and this enclosure is divided into smaller castles, many of the temples themselves forming independent fortifications. On the southern summit are the mediæval temples, founded by Koomâr Pâl and Veemul Shâ, with a pool sacred to a local goddess named Khodeeâr, near which is a gigantic image of the Jain Pontiff, Rishub Dev, with the sacred

[1] Corresponding with the four yoogs or ages of the Hindoos, are the six Ârâs of the Jains. In the third Ârâ lived Nâbhee Raja, descended of Ikshwâkoo Raja, of the race of Kusyup, the Sage. He had a wife, Muroo Devee, and their son was Rishub Dev, or Âdeenâth, the first Teerthunker or Pontiff of the Jains. Before the time of Rishub Dev no rain fell upon the earth, no fire existed, nor any thorny tree; there was neither learning nor skilled occupation in the world. All these were introduced by Rishub Dev, who taught men the three Kurums,—*Ushee Kurum*, or the science of war and government; *Mâshee Kurum*, or the science of literature; and *Kâshee Kurum*, or the science of cultivation. From this time men adopted regular occupations. The last of the Teerthunkers, Muhâveer Swâmee, became incorporated with the Divine essence, in the year before Vikrum, 470 (B. C. 526); three years, eight months, and two weeks after which commenced the fifth Ârâ, which is to last twenty-one thousand years.

bull at his feet, hewn out of the living rock. On the northern elevation the largest and most ancient temple is that, the erection of which is attributed to a fabulous prince named Sumpriti Raja. The old erections upon Shutroonjye are, however, few; and frequent restoration has caused them to be with difficulty discernible from the modern fanes around them, but of those of later date the name is legion. There is hardly a city in India, through its length and breadth, from the river of Sindh to the sacred Ganges, from Heemâla's diadem of ice peaks, to the throne of his virgin daughter, Roodra's destined bride, that has not supplied, at one time or other, contributions of wealth to the edifices which crown the hill of Pâleetânâ; street after street, and square after square, extend these shrines of the Jain faith, with their stately enclosures, half palace, half fortress, raised, in marble magnificence, upon the lonely and majestic mountain, and like the mansions of another world, far removed in upper air from the ordinary tread of mortals. In the dark recesses of each temple one image or more of Âdeenâth, of Ujeet, or of some other of the Teerthunkers is seated, whose alabaster features, wearing an expression of listless repose, are rendered dimly visible by the faint light shed from silver lamps; incense perfumes the air, and barefooted, with noiseless tread, upon the polished floors, the female votaries, glittering in scarlet and gold, move round and round in circles, chanting forth their monotonous, but not unmelodious, hymns. Shutroonjye indeed might fitly represent one of the fancied hills of eastern romance, the inhabitants of which have been instantaneously changed into marble, but which fay hands are ever employed upon, burning perfumes, and keeping all clean and brilliant, while fay voices haunt the air in these voluptuous praises of the Devs.

Westwards from the summit of the hill of Pâleetânâ, may be beheld, on a clear day, the mount sacred to Nemeenâth,—the noble Girnâr: northwards the hills around Seehore hardly intercept the view of the fallen city of Wullubhee; close at the foot of Âdeenâth's mountain, the minarets of Pâleetânâ, glittering in the sun through the dense foliage, form a foreground to the view; and the eye insensibly following the silver river Shutroonj, in its meandering eastern course, rests

awhile upon the beautiful and temple-crowned rock of Tulâjâ, and beyond it roams to where the ancient Gopnâth and Mudhoomâwutee are washed by the rippling sea.

Shutroonjye is one of the most ancient and most sacred shrines of the Jain religion. It is described as the first of places of pilgrimage, the bridal hall of those who would marry everlasting rest : like our own sacred Iona,[1] it is not destined to be destroyed even at the end of the world. Many and long are the tales that are told of fabled kings from every part of the land of the Hindoos, who by austerities and religious services, rendered valuable by their performance on this sacred ground, have freed themselves from the intolerable load of their sins, and attained the blessing of liberation. But it would test all the patience even of a votary of the Teerthunkers, to thread this labyrinth of wonders, nor shall we attempt to tell our readers of Kupurddee Yuksh, of Kundoo Raja, and his patron Umbeekâ, of Sumoodra Veejye the Yâduv, or of the temples which Soondur, the beautiful King of Kuleeân, and his incomparable consort, raised upon the sacred hill.

To some traditions, however, which are of more general interest we may here allude, premising that they are derived from the *Muhâtmâ*,[2] or sacred chronicle, of the mountain, which purports to have been abridged from a former work on the same subject, by Shree Dhuneshwur Sooree in the renowned city of Wullubhee, at the order of 'Soorâshtra's lord, Sheelâditya.'

Bhurut Raja, the son of Rishub Dev, ruled in Ayoddhya. He led an army northwards from Shutroonjye, and engaged in battle with a barbarian raja of great power. In the first struggle Bhurut was defeated, in a subsequent one he was suc-

[1] 'That so many crowned heads from different nations should prefer 'this (Iona) as the place of their interment is said to have been owing 'to an ancient prophecy :

> 'Seven years before the end of the world
> A deluge shall drown the nations :
> The sea at one tide shall cover Ireland ;
> And the green-headed Islay, but Columba's Isle
> Shall swim above the flood.'

Graham's *Antiquities of Iona*.

[2] [This is the *Śatruñjaya Māhātmya*, a local Jain chronicle, described as 'comparatively modern and not worthy of much trust.']

cessful. The barbarian sovereign fled on his defeat to the river Indus, 'as a child in distress flies to his mother.'

Bhurut was, however, stayed by the rainy season, but at its close his minister Sookhen took a fort north of the Indus, between the sea and the mountains. Somyushâ, son of Bâhoobulee Raja, the younger brother of Bhurut, built the temple of Rishub Dev, and Bhurut himself gave up for the services of the place of pilgrimage the revenues of Soorâshtra, which from that day received the title of Dev-desh, or the Holy Land.[1] Shuktee Singh, Bhurut's relative, then presided in Soreth, and with the assistance of the army of that sovereign, led by Sookhen, expelled the demons from Girnâr, and founded temples, lofty as Mount Meroo, to Âdeenâth and Urisht Nemee. The temples on Shutroonjye were afterwards destroyed by barbarians, and for a long time desolation reigned in the holy mountain.

At the time when Vikrum arose to free the earth from debt, a poor Shrâwuk, or layman of the Jain faith, named Bhâwud, and his wife Bhâwulâ, dwelt in Kâmpilyapoor. Having hospitably entertained two holy men who visited their house, they became the possessors of a mare of wonderful qualities. Bhâwud, after this beginning, soon arrived at eminence as a breeder of horses, and having made valuable additions to the stud of King Vickrumâditya, he received from that sovereign the gift of Mudhoomâwutee (or Mhowa) in Soreth. In that town, a son, named Jâwud, was born to him, who succeeding his father at his death, managed his city like a second god of wisdom. In a bad time an army of 'Moodguls'[2] swept over the land like a tide of the sea violently driven up. The Moodguls carried off cows, grain, property of all kinds, children, women of all classes, men also, from Soreth, Lâth, Kutch, and other countries, and retired to their own country, 'Moodgul.' Jâwud, among other captives of all castes, was carried off thither; but even there the merchant acquired wealth; he preserved his religion as in the land of virtue, and

[1] The words *Dev* means generally a dweller in one of the upper worlds. For a more detailed explanation, the reader must be referred to the 'Conclusion.'

[2] So in the original. In the Goozeratee translation, '*Mooguls*.' *

erected a Jain temple. Holy men visiting it, and being well received by Jâwud, recited the praises of Shutroonjye, and predicted that he was destined to effect its restoration. They informed him that the tutelary Devs of the sacred mountain had become destroyers of life and consumers of flesh and liquor; that an apostate, named Kuwud Yuksh, put to death all those of the Jain religion who ventured thither; that the land was desolate for leagues around Shutroonjye; and that Rishub Dev was without a worshipper. Following their directions, Jâwud propitiated the goddess Chukreshwuree, and offered gifts to the unclean Devs. They pointed out to him the place where the image of Rishub Dev lay concealed,—at the city of Tuksh Sheela, namely, where Raja Jugutmâl ruled. Jâwud with great exertion obtained the images from the king. With the Raja's assistance, he organized a caravan, in which he, with many of his caste fellows, set off escorting the images towards Shutroonjye. After many hardships, Jâwud and his companions succeeded in making their way to Mudhoomâwutee in Soreth, and they were so fortunate as to find in the harbour a fleet of vessels which Jâwud had formerly despatched to Bhot and Cheen, and which had that moment returned laden with gold and other costly freight. At the same moment, also, the great sage Shree Vâyur Swâmee arrived at Mudhoomâwutee, bringing with him Kuwud Yuksh, whom he had reconverted, and who followed him, attended by a numerous train of Devs and Yukshes. Jâwud and the holy Vâyur Swâmee, with their ally Kuwud, repaired with all speed to Shutroonjye, where they were horrified at the sight of corpses and blood defiling the mountain, and whitened bones scattered over it. Having cleansed the hill until it was as pure as their own hearts, the pilgrim band, placing the images before them, on the fortunate day pointed out by Shree Vâyur Swâmee, ascended the mountain with much music and festive display. They were, however, unsuccessful in repeated endeavours to restore the place of pilgrimage, which were always frustrated by the malevolent opposition of the demons. Jâwud at last died broken-hearted in the one hundred and eighth year after Vikrum[1] (A.D. 52,)

[1] [For the Vikrama era, see pp. 356–7 *footnote*. It starts from 58–7 B.C., not 56. So Fleet.]

and his continual failures gave rise to the proverb still common in the country in reference to a work which never arrives at completion,—'It is a Jâwud Bhâwud affair.'[1]

Several years subsequent to the death of Jâwud, the Boudhists converted the kings of Soorâshtra to their faith, and took possession of Shutroonjye and all the other holy places. At last Dhuneshwur Sooree arose, who brought over to the Jain religion Sheelâditya, King of Wullubheepoor, and expelling the Boudhists from the country, recovered the places of pilgrimage and erected many temples.[2]

The date which the *Muhâtmâ* assigns to this latter transaction, is the year of Vikrum four hundred and seventy-seven (A. D. 421.) Reserving, however, the question of the probable time of Sheelâditya, we proceed with further Jain legends regarding the conversion of that sovereign from the Boudhist faith, and the destruction of himself and his kingdom by barbarian invaders.[3]

[1] The Scottish adage is similar, 'Like Saint Mungo's work, it will never be finished.'

[2] [Śīlāditya I is apparently here meant, as the Jain chronicles give him the title of *Dharmâditya*, no doubt on account of his patronage of their religion. But his approximate date is from A. D. 595–610 or 615, not 421.]

[3] It may be as well to remark in this place, that the Sougut, or Boudh, and the Urhut, or Jain, were two of the heretical schools opposed to the religion of the Veds and to the Brahminical class. The Boudhs of Hindustan were annihilated in the furious contest waged against them by the followers of the orthodox Hindoo religion.[1] The Jains even escaped with difficulty, though they have survived the terrors of the storm, and may now defy its force. 'The Souguts,' says Professor Wilson, (*As : Res.* xvi, art. Religious Sects of the Hindus,) 'are identified even by Mâdhuv Âchârya with the Boudhs, but there seems to have been some, although probably not any very essential difference : the chief tenet of this class, according to Ânund Geeree, was their adopting the doctrine taught by Soogut Moonee, that tenderness towards animated nature comprehends all moral and devotional duty, a tenet which is, in a great measure, common to both the Boudh and Jain schisms.' At Wullubhee the Boudhs and Souguts appear to form one body, and the opposition is between them and the Jains, and not between these heretical sects and the orthodox Hindoos.

It is probable that the sect called Souras, who worshipped the Sun as

[1] [Modern research does not support the belief that Buddhism was 'annihilated in the furious contest' with the orthodox Hindus. Persecution had little to do with the gradual decay of Buddhism.]

In the great city named Kaira, in Goojur-land, there lived, says the legend, a Brahmin who had read the Veds through, named Devâditya. He had a daughter, Soobhugâ, who was left a widow in her childhood. At morning, noon, and eventide she offered every day sacrificial grass, flowers, and water, in honor of the Sun. Astonished at the beauty of the virgin widow, the Sun-God, assuming the form of a mortal, visited earth to enjoy her embraces. She became pregnant. Her parents, enraged at the disgrace which they supposed Soobhugâ had entailed upon them, drove her from home. She fled, attended by an attached servant, to the city of Wullubhee, where in due time she was delivered of twin children. Eight years passed over the splendid infants as if in a moment. The boy then began to sit at the feet of the instructors; but, associating with other children, the lesson which earliest and

the creator and cause of the world, and a few of whom, chiefly Brahmins, still exist as a sect, were at this time numerous in the peninsula of Soorâshtra. Ânund Geeree enumerates divisions of this class, which are now, it is believed, unknown. 'He distinguishes them,' says Professor Wilson, 'into the following six classes:—

'Those who adored the rising sun, regarding it as especially the type of Brahmâ, or the creative power. Those who worshipped the meridian sun as Eshwur, the destructive and regenerative faculty; and those who reverenced the setting sun, as the prototype of Vishnoo, or the attribute of preservation.

'The fourth class comprehended the advocates of the Treemoortee, who addressed their devotions to the sun in all the preceding states, as the comprehensive type of these three divine attributes.

'The object of the fifth form is not quite clearly stated, but it appears to have been the adoration of the sun as a positive and material body, and the marks on his surface, as his hair, beard, &c. The members of this class so far correspond with the Souras of the present day, as to refrain from food until they had seen the sun.

'The sixth class of Souras in opposition to the preceding, deemed it unnecessary to address their devotions to the visible and material sun: they provided a mental luminary, on which they meditated, and to which their adoration was offered: they stamped circular orbs on their foreheads, arms, and breasts with hot irons; a practice uniformly condemned by Shunker Âchârya, as contrary to the laws of the Veds, and the respect due to Brahminical flesh and blood.' [Buddhism must have been introduced into Gujarât by Aśoka 273–232 B. C. According to the Jain chronicles, his grandson Samprati (c. 216) built Jain monasteries in *Anâryadeśa*, which seems to have included Saurâshṭra.]

most vividly impressed itself upon his mind was that he was 'without a father'. Distressed at the jeers of his companions, he began to complain to Soobhugâ—'How, mother! have 'not I a father, that such a speech is used?' 'I know not,' she answered, 'why do you give me pain by your enquiries?' The boy sorrowfully turned away, but from that time forth his only desire was to possess himself of poison or other means of avoiding his shame by self-destruction.

One day the Sun-God, Nârâyun, appeared to him in his grief, and addressing him kindly by the title of 'child,' promised him protection, and armed him with some pebbles which should enable him to slay his enemies. By the fame of these weapons of the Sun the boy became renowned under the name of Sheelâditya.[1] The King of Wullubhee, resenting the death of one of his subjects who had been slain by Sheelâditya, himself perished under the heaven-given missiles, and the son of Soobhugâ became the lord, as he was already the luminary, of Soorâshtra. Borne by a horse, the gift of Nârâyun, like a sky-traveller moving wherever he would, by his exploits conquering a circle of territory, for a long time he continued to rule.

Once on a time certain teachers of the Boudhist doctrines, fierce with the pride of learning, approached the throne of Sheelâditya. 'These white-robed ones,' said they, 'if they 'can subdue us in disputation, let them remain, otherwise 'expel them the country.' The King, agreeing to this demand, held a court of four kinds,[2] himself presiding therein, and decreed that whichever party should be worsted in the discussion should quit the dominions of Wullubhee. By the fiat of destiny the Boudhists proved victorious, and the Swetâmburs[3] retired to foreign countries, hoping to renew the contest at a future time. Then Sheelâditya Raja worshipped

[1] Which means 'Stone of the Sun.'

[2] A court that is composed of *Sâdhoos* and *Sâdhwees*, or male and female ascetics of the Jain faith, and of *Shrâwuks* and *Shrâweekâs*, or persons male and female who have not entered any religious order. [Many Hindu princes were eclectic in religion, and religious 'disputations,' not unlike those of medieval Europe, were a feature of court life. See, e.g., *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, trans. Beal, pp. 56–7, 178–80 &c.]

[3] 'Men of the white robe,' the Jains.

the Boudhists, but he still continued to serve with his former zeal the great Rishub Dev of Shutroonjye.

Sheelâditya had given his twin-sister to the Raja of Bhrigoopoor (Broach), to whom she bore a son, in qualities and splendor resembling a Dev. Some time afterwards, having lost her husband, she took the ascetic vow at a good place of pilgrimage, in the presence of a good religious teacher. Her son also, at the age of eight years, took the vow. To people of good character and wisdom they began, as occasion offered, to unfold the doctrines of their religion. One day Mull, inflamed with zeal, began to enquire of his mother, the Sâdhwee, whether the fortunes of their co-religionists had always been as lowly as he then beheld them. She, with tears in her eyes, made answer :—'Son ! how shall a sinner such as I am make 'reply. The illustrious white-robed company was formerly 'numerous in every town ; but Veer Soorendra, the famous 'teacher, having left the world, the other religionists enthralled 'the lord of earth, Sheelâditya, your uncle. The holy place 'of pilgrimage, Shutroonjye, which is the renowned giver of 'liberation, in the absence of Swetâmburs affords a residence 'to Bhoot-like [1] Boudhists. The Swetâmburs live in foreign 'countries, their pride humbled, their splendor lost.' Mull, having been born in a family of the warrior caste, not forgetting his feud, sought for the opportunity of conquering. By austerities and assiduous worship he won the favor of the Goddess of Eloquence, who, to enable him to subdue the Boudhists, as Vishnoo's eagle subdues a snake, presented him with a book named *Nye Chukra*. Taking this weapon, Mull, resembling in beauty the Pânduv Urjoon when he bore the arms of Shiva, coming to Wullubhee, the ornament of Soorâshtra presented himself before Sheelâditya. 'The Boudhists 'have falsely enthralled the world, O King ! To them have 'I, Mull, the son of your sister, arisen as an antagonist.' Having caused the court to be arranged as before, the King sat to hear the disputants. Mull, armed with the strength of the Goddess, speedily struck consternation into the Boudhists, who trembled at the fierce blaze into which the expiring spark

[1] A Bhoot is the ghost of a deceased man ; see, however, for explanation of the word, the 'Conclusion.'

of the Swetâmbur faith had burst forth. They determined to leave the field to their opponent rather than to suffer the ignominy of a more public defeat. 'Well done,' said they, 'to 'him who escapes the sight of the destruction of his country, 'or the extinction of his race, or the rape of his wife, or the 'calamity of his friends.' The heretics thus defeated, having been expelled the country at the order of the King, and the Jain teachers recalled, in consequence of Mull's having defeated the Boudhists, the learned men, with the Sovereign's permission, gave him the title of *Sooree*. With the aid of his uncle, Sheelâditya, knowing the immeasurable greatness of Shree Shutroonjye, the sovereign of places of pilgrimage, he effected its restoration. Shree Mull Sooree, having established his reputation, was soon after entrusted by the Convocation with the charge of the place of pilgrimage at Cambay or Stumbh Teerth, which had been planted by Shree Ubhye Dev Sooree. With Shrenik and other Shrâwuks he caused his soul to be enrolled.

At this time a trader named Kâkoo left his native town of Pâlee in Marwar, and, carrying his property with him on his head, travelled to Wullubhee. He lived with some herdsmen in a collection of huts at the city gate, and on account of his extreme misery became known as 'Runk,' or 'poverty stricken.' Becoming, however, possessed of a pad of 'Krishn Chitruk,'[1] and other articles containing magical properties, Kâkoo, the Runk, soon set fire to his thatched hut, and, entering the city, erected a large mansion near one of the other gates, where he took up his residence. His property daily increasing, he began to count his wealth by tens of millions; but so great was his avarice, that he refrained from spending money in any place, either for the benefit of holy men, or in pilgrimages, or in acts of compassion; on the contrary, he exhibited his wealth to the world in the disguise of 'fate,' and took advantage of it to wrest their substance from his poorer

[1] 'Many years ago a girl who lived near Nether Witton (in Northumberland), as she was returning from milking with her pail on her head, saw the fairies playing in the fields, and though she pointed them out to her companions they could not see them. The reason, it seemed, was her *weise*, or pad, for bearing the pail on her head, was composed of four-leaved clover, which gives the power of seeing fairies.' Keightley's *Fairy Mythology*.

neighbours. One day Runk's daughter was observed by the daughter of the Raja wearing a magnificent gold comb adorned with jewels, this the Princess became anxious to obtain, and on her father's refusing to give it up, Sheelâditya caused it to be taken away by force. Upon this quarrel Runk retired to a barbarian country, and offered the King thereof ten millions of gold to destroy Wullubhee. The monarch agreeing, set forth on the expedition, but Runk had made no present to the umbrella holder; in the royal tent, therefore, at night time, when the lord of earth was betwixt sleeping and waking, some person, in pursuance of a plan previously arranged, began to speak as follows,—'In our lord's council 'there is no wise man, else how should this horse-lord, the 'great Indra of the world, set forth—by the advice of a man 'of unknown family and character, a trader, no one knows 'whether good or bad, Runk by name—on an expedition against 'the sun's child, Sheelâditya?' Hearing this speech, which resembled wholesome medicine, the king advanced no further the next day. Then Runk, perceiving the real state of the case, in a fright, giving gold, satisfied that servant's desire of gold; thereupon, the day after, in the morning, the servant thus spoke in the king's presence: 'With or without considera-'tion a start has been made—this great king, lion-like, has taken 'one step—now, therefore, to proceed is the honorable course. 'When a lion can, even in sport, destroy elephants, why should 'he stoop to be called deer-lord or deer-slayer? There is no 'honour in either term. Our sovereign's exploits are endless. 'Who shall stand before him?' Pleased with this speech, the barbarian lord, filling heaven and earth with the sound of the kettle-drum, proceeded in his advance.

At that time, in Wullubhee, the images of Shree Chundra Prubh, Shree Wurddhumân Dev, and others, knowing the impending calamity, made their way to Shiv Puttun (Prubhâs), Shreemâl Poor, and other cities; Shree Mull Wâdee also, the great sage, retired to Punchâsur with his followers.[1] The

[1] Excessere omnes, adytis arisque relictis,
Di, quibus imperium hoc steterat.—Virgil, *Æneid* ii, 351–2.
'The ancient nations had a custom of loading with chains the statues 'of their gods, when the state was menaced with danger, in order to pre-

barbarian army drew near to the town, and Runk, the disgraceful cause of the ruin of his country, having treacherously taught them to defile the fountain of the sun with the blood of cows, the sacred horse, which was the foundation of Sheelâditya's fortunes, deserted him, springing up, like Vishnoo's eagle, into the sky. Thus rendered helpless, Sheelâditya was slain, and the barbarians, as if in sport, destroyed Wullubheepoor.

The oral Hindoo tradition relating to the fall of the city of Wullubhee is very different from the account given in these Jain legends, and is probably altogether destitute of historical foundation. It bears to the story of the cities of the plain, and of the death of Lot's wife, a resemblance so close, that we find difficulty in supposing it to be other than a faint and far transmitted echo of that wonderful tale. A circulation of intelligence scarcely to be credited, and not easily to be accounted for, has, we know, existed among Asiatic nations both of the earliest and of the most modern times, and the state in which the once proud Wullubhee has lain for centuries would not unnaturally lead the Hindoo, who ever delights in bringing home the marvellous, to fix upon it as the scene of so terrible an act of vengeance of that Almighty 'who turneth a fruitful 'land into saltness for the wickedness of them that dwell 'therein.'

'Dhoondulee Mull, the sage,' says the tradition, 'came 'with a single disciple to Wullubheepoor. The holy man 'made his residence at the foot of the hill called Eeshâlwo, near 'Chamárdee, a spot which was at that time in the very out-'skirts of Wullubhee. The disciple went into the city to seek 'alms, but received none ; he then cut wood in the jungle, which 'he took into the city and sold, and thus procuring money, 'purchased flour. No one however would make it into bread 'for him, until at last a potter's wife performed this service.

'vent their flight. Among the Phœnicians, the idol Melkarth was almost 'constantly chained.'—*Vide* Anthon's *Classical Dictionary*, p. 601.

'Let us depart hence, said the invisible guardian of the Jewish temple, 'when the provocations of that infatuated race were about to receive their 'punishment.'—Heber's *Sermons in England*, p. 60, quoting Josephus, *Bell. Judaic.*, iv. 5.

'After several days had passed on in this manner, the hair on 'the disciple's head began to be worn away, from his continually 'carrying loads. The sage asked the reason, and received for 'answer, "Mighty sovereign! in this city there is no one who 'gives alms. I am therefore compelled to cut wood and sell it, 'and a potter's wife makes bread for me—in this labor my hair 'is worn away." The holy man said "I will myself go to day 'to beg." He did so, but with the exception of the potter's wife 'no one gave alms. The saint became very angry; he sent 'his disciple to tell the potter,—"Take your family with you 'and leave the city. This very day it shall be overwhelmed." 'The potter and his wife quitted Wullubhee, taking their son 'with them. The sage had cautioned the woman that she 'should not turn to look back, but when she had reached the 'sea shore, near where the town of Bhownugger now stands, 'she disobeyed the order, and, turning back, looked toward 'Wullubhee. She was immediately changed into a stone image, 'which is to this day worshipped in that place, under the name 'of the Roowâpooree Mother. Meanwhile the saint having 'taken into his hands an earthen vessel, reversed it, pronoun-'cing the words,—"City! be thou overthrown, and thy wealth 'turned into dust." In that moment Wullubhee was destroyed.'

A jungle of peeloo trees,[1] of considerable extent, lies on the western and northern sides of the modern town of Wulleh. It is traversed in every direction by roads, and includes the principal part of the remains of Wullubheepoor which is

[1] 'There is,' says Sir Alexander Burns, in his *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii, p. 122, 'a shrub called "peeloo," (*Salvadora Persica*,) which is to be found 'in this neighbourhood, (the desert that lies between the Chenab and the 'Indus,) and in all tracts of saline soil that border on the Indus and Punjab 'rivers. It produces a red and white berry, which has but a poor flavour; 'the taste of its seed resembles water-cresses: this is the season of the 'fruit (June), and it was exposed for sale in the bazaars of Mooltan. I 'observed this shrub in the greatest abundance in the Delta, and lower 'parts of Sinde; and, as I am satisfied that it is only to be found in the 'particular soil described, I believe we recognise it in Arrian's *Indian 'History*. "The leaves resemble those of the laurel; they grow *chiefly* 'in places where the tide flows among them, and where they are again 'left dry at low water. Their flower is white, and in shape like a violet, 'but much excelling it in sweetness."'

exposed to view. Numerous excavations have been made within this jungle by the people of the town in search of materials for building; they exhibit what are apparently foundation-walls, frequently four-and-a-half feet wide, constructed of large burnt bricks and earth. The trenches assume occasionally the form of mines, and are carried down in some places to water, which is found to be saline. Similar traces of brickwork walls are discoverable, it is said, in most places within a distance of three or four miles from the town of Wulleh. The bricks measure frequently sixteen inches in length, ten in width, and three in depth.

A river called the Ghelo, or 'insane,' from its violent movements during the rainy months, runs round the outside of the peeloo jungle, and as it frequently alters its course, it has been an active agent in laying bare to view the remains of Wullubhee; in this task it has been assisted, to a considerable extent, by occasional streams formed, for the time being, by an accumulation of water in the rains struggling in this level plain to find for itself a means of escape.

To the north of the town the site of a reservoir, which bears the name of Ghorârdumun, is pointed out, and to the south-west is a large flat space, covered in the cold months with a rich clothing of green wheat, which is called the Rutun-tank, and the surrounding mound of which may still in some places be traced.

Within the space occupied by the peeloo trees, and on all sides of Wulleh, are to be found numerous emblems of Shiva and of the bull, his attendant, formed of granite, and considerable in point of size. These, where they rest upon brickwork, are found at nearly the actual ground level, a fact which (as they must have stood upon the floors of temples) would seem to indicate that the town had not been submerged. The Phallic emblems are themselves mostly entire, but the bulls, which accompany them, have in no case escaped mutilation. Of the latter, the most remarkable is a large granite figure, wanting the head, and split across the body, which lies near a large Ling,[1] called Bhuteshwur Muhâ Dev. Every one of

[1] 'Ling' is the name of the Phallic emblem. The lings at Wulleh are similar to those which are found in modern temples, but very much larger.

the emblems which has been discovered has a name assigned to it by the Bramins, as Wyejnâth, Rutuneshwur, Eeshwureeo Muhâ Dev, and others. The bulls are well executed, and, unlike modern figures of Nundee, are placed in the true position of a sitting animal.

According to Colonel Tod, Kunuksen, a prince of the race of the sun, abandoned his native kingdom of Koshul—that kingdom of which Aloodhya was the capital and Rama the monarch —in A. D. 144 or 145, and established himself on the site of Veirât, the celebrated abode of the sons of Pândoo during their exile, and which is supposed to have occupied the position of the modern town of Dholka. He wrested dominion from a prince of the Purmâr race, and founded Wurnugger. Four centuries afterwards his descendant Veejye founded Veejâpoor, and Vidurba, since called Seehore, and the same race founded also the renowned city of Wullubhee and Gujnee, near the modern Cambay, which was involved in the fall of Wullubhee.[1]

In another place the same author states, that Kunuksen, having migrated to Soorâshtra, fixed his residence at Dhânk, anciently called Moongee Puttun, and that on the conquest of the region called Bâlkhetur, (still known as 'the Bhâl,') his race assumed the title of Bâlla Rajpoots. On the fall of Wullubhee, part of the inhabitants fled to Balli, a Jain town on the borders of Mewar and Marwar, others to Sandera and Nadole in the latter province.[2]

The Jain writers, whose description we have quoted, place the fall of Wullubhee in the year of Vikrum 375 (A. D. 319). In that year, however, an era, called the 'Wullubhee era,' commenced,[3] and it is probable that the date of the fall of the

They are granite monolithes, commencing in a square pedestal about two feet high, which passes into a cylinder about three feet in height and eight in circumference, rounded at the top. Some of them ascend from the square into an octagon, and thence into the cylinder.

[1] Vide *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. i, 100, 253 ff. [Valabhipur, the modern Vaḷā in Kāthiāwār, 20 miles W. of Bhavnager and 25 miles N. of Śatruñjaya, was built by Bhaṭārka, for details of whom, see note 2 on the following page.]

[2] Vide *Western India*, pp. 51, 148, 268, 352. *Rajasthan*, vol. i, p. 254.

[3] *Vide* Tod's *Western India*, p. 506. Inscription from Billâwul.

city has been confounded by these writers with the date of the commencement of the era called by its name. The Shutroonjye Muhâtmâ gives the year of Vikrum 477 (A.D. 421) for the accession of a king named Sheelâditya, who restored temples on the mountain. As many as four kings of the name of Sheelâditya are, however, mentioned in different lists of the Wullubhee sovereigns, derived from inscriptions on copper plates.[1] Of these princes eighteen are mentioned, the first two of whom bore the title of senâputee or military chief, and are conjectured to have been vassals of the Purmârs of Oojein.[2] The remaining princes used the sovereign title 'Muhâ Râjâ.' They were also called 'Shree Bhuttârk,' or illustrious warrior, and appear to have been (the large majority of them) 'great 'worshippers of Muheshwur,' or followers of Shiva, the figure of the sacred bull, his attendant Nundee, appearing both upon their seals and banners, and the emblems of the god forming, as we have seen, one of the most striking features in the

[1] Vide *Journ. Asiat. Soc.* (Bengal), iv, 477; ditto, vii, 966; *Journ. Asiat. Soc.* (Bombay), iii, 213, &c. &c.

[2] More probably, we should say, of the Solunkhees of Kuleeân. [The founder of the Valabhi dynasty was Bhaṭārka, *c.* A. D. 500. It was formerly held that he was a Gurjara 'who had obtained fame by blows *on* the armies of the Maitrakas.' (Pandit Bhagvānlāl in *Gazetteer* I. i, 87). But this arose from a misreading of a copper plate grant, which, Dr. Hultzsch has shewn, really states that Bhaṭārka obtained fame from the blows struck *by* the armies of the Maitrakas, i. e. Bhaṭārka was a leader (*senāpati*, the title given him in inscriptions) of one of the hordes of Maitrakas, Mihiras or Mers, who, with the Hūṇas and Gurjaras, poured into Saurashṭra in the fifth and sixth centuries A. C. This discovery throws valuable light on the origin of the Rājputs, as the Sisodia or Gohil Rājputs of Udaipur, the premier Rājput clan, claiming descent from Rāma, are said to be descended from the Valabhi princes. The Nāgar Brāhmans belong to the same stock. These facts, which seem to be established, dispose of the old belief that the Rājputs are the offspring of the Kshatriyas of the Vedic and Epic Ages. The Rājputs are an *occupational* group of castes, consisting of various warlike tribes, Hūṇa, Gurjara, Mer, etc., who found their way into India from Central Asia, in the fifth and sixth centuries, adopted the Hindu creed and social customs, and by right of conquest took over the duties of fighting and ruling. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, ix, 1. Appendix B, 'The Gujars': *Indian Antiquary*, 1911, vol. xl, pp. 7–37; article on 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population,' by D. R. Bhandarkar: *Early History of India*, by V. A. Smith, 3rd. edn., p. 414.)]

remains of their long-fallen capital. The dates which have been derived (conjecturally) from these inscriptions range from A. D. 144 to A. D. 559. The latest of these would, however appear to be too early for the true date of the fall of Wullubhee. We are told in a Chinese account of India that 'Under the 'Tang dynasty, in the years Woo teh (A. D. 618 to 627), there 'were great troubles in India: the king (Sheelâditya ?) fought 'great battles. The Chinese Buddhist priest, Hiuan thsang, 'who writes his travels, arrived in India at this period and 'had audience of Sheelâditya.'[1]

'The country of Wullubhee,' as is remarked in the narrative quoted by M. Jacquet,[2] 'a country so named north of Larica, 'has more than six thousand leagues (li) of circumference. 'The capital city of that country has more than thirty leagues 'of circumference. The productions of the sun, the conditions 'of the temperature, the manners and the physical character 'of the inhabitants, are the same as in the country of Malwa. 'The number of the inhabitants is considerable; the families 'are opulent; indeed, they number there more than a hundred 'houses possessing a fortune of a hundred lakhs; immense 'treasures come from the most remote countries to accumulate 'themselves in this kingdom. One finds there more than 'a hundred *Kialan* (Buddhist monasteries); the clergy there 'are more than six thousand in number; they study for 'the most part the section of the Scriptures called *the perfect* '*measure*, which belongs to the little *yâna*. There are some 'hundreds of temples consecrated to Devs; the heretics

[1] Vide *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. vi, p. 351, et seq. [The Śīlāditya who was the patron of Hiuen Tsiang was the famous Harshavardhana of Kanauj, (A. D. 606–647) and not one of the Valabhi princes of that name.]

[2] In his note on Wullubhee in the *Journ. Asiatic Soc.* (Bengal), vol. v, p. 685, from 'The Narrative of a Chinese Buddhist priest who visited 'Transoxiana, Bactria, and India in the year 632 of our era and the follow- 'ing years.' The names have been substituted according to M. Jacquet's suggestions. [This passage is more correctly rendered by Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii, 266–267. The last para. is given by him as follows: 'The present king is of the Kshatriya caste, as they all are. He is nephew of Śīlāditya-rāja of Mālava, and son-in-law of Śīlāditya, the present king of Kānyākubja. His name is Dhruvapaṭa (*T'u-lu-h'o-po-tu*).' This is Dhruvasena II (Bālāditya) A. D. 629–639, or 620–644.]

'are there in great number. Buddha, during the time that 'he was in the world of men, has often visited this country; 'the king *Asoka*, too, has raised pillars beside all the trees 'under which Buddha had rested himself, to cause them to 'be recognised. The reigning dynasty is of the race of the 'Kshutriyas; the old king was the nephew of Sheelâditya, 'king of the country of Malwa; he who now rules is son-'in-law of Sheelâditya, king of the country of Canouj; he 'is named Drouv-Bhatta.' This Drouv-Bhatta, M. Jacquet considers to be Drouv Sen II., the eleventh prince of the dynasty of Wullubhee. The reign of Sheelâditya IV.,[1] the last sovereign of the line, in whose time the destruction of the city occurred, would thus (allowing twenty years for each reign) be brought down to as late a time as about A. D. 770. Mr. Wathen, however, conjecturally fixes it more than two centuries earlier.

The barbarian invaders of Wullubhee are supposed by the annalist of Rajasthan to have been Scythians.[2] Mr. Wathen suggests that they were Bactro-Indians, of which race many coins have been found in Soreth; and Mr. Elphinstone thinks they may have been Persians under Nousheerwân the Great. Were it not mentioned that the invaders were Mlechh, or tribes that were not Hindoos, we might have supposed that the Solunkhees of Kuleeân in the Dekkan had destroyed Wullubhee in the attempt to recover their supremacy in Soreth. So much uncertainty, however, exists in regard to the time of the fall of Wullubhee, that any speculations in regard to its destroyers can be raised upon but an insecure foundation. The next dynasty which we hear of in this part of India is that of the Chowras of Unhilpoor, a capital said to have been founded in A. D. 746. The accounts which we shall now have to present would seem to indicate that the foundation of the Chowra capital succeeded not very distantly the fall of Wullubheepoor.

[1] [The last king of Valabhi was Śilāditya VII. *c.* A. D. 766.]

[2] [The *Mlecchas* who sacked Valabhi were neither Skythians nor Persians, but probably Arabs from Sind. The tale given on pp. 16–17 is partly true. A traitor named Ranka, having a grudge against Śilāditya VII, bribed the Arabs to attack the city, which they did about A. D. 760 or 766, perhaps under Ámr ibn Jamāl. See Alberuni (trans. Sachau), i, 193, and *Gazetteer*, vol. i, part 1, 94, *note*.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY OF GUJARĀT

[When Forbes was writing Indian Archaeology was in its infancy, and the information available about the early history of Gujarāt was correspondingly vague. Hence he has little or nothing to tell us about the Mauryas, the Guptas, or other ancient dynasties, and even with regard to the Valabhi dynasty he contents himself with copying a few scanty legends from the *Śatruñjaya Māhātmya*, of small historical value. The researches of Dr. Bühler, Pandit Bhagavānlāl Indrājī and other archaeologists, have now rendered Forbes's account obsolete.

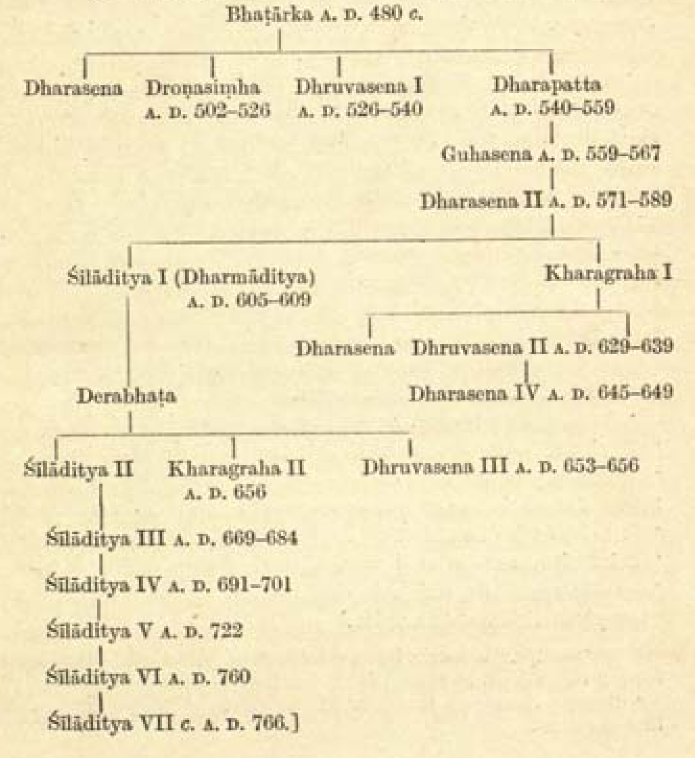
The history of Gujarāt stretches back to very early times, when it had a flourishing trade with the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Coast. Definite information, however, is wanting before the time of Chandragupta Maurya, who conquered the country about 300 B. C. Aśoka, no doubt, introduced Buddhism, which seems to have been partially superseded by the rival Jain sect in the time of his grandson. After the decay of the Maurya Empire, the Baktrian Greeks for a time ruled in Saurāshṭra. They in their turn gave way before the powerful Skythian clan known as the Kshaharātā or Western Satraps of Maharāshṭra, of whom the first was one Bhūmaka. He was succeeded, perhaps not directly, by Nahapāna, (*c.* ? A. D. 100–126) or earlier, who was in his turn defeated by the Āndhra monarch Gautamīputra. Northern Gujarāt was then governed by a Satrap of a different line named Chashtana, (*c.* A. D. 80–110) whose capital was Ujjain.[1] His grandson Rudradāman became an independent sovereign. He was the author of the famous inscription at Girnār relating to the Sudarśana lake, which is our chief authority for the history of Gujarāt from 300 B. C. to A. D. 150. About A. D. 396 the western Satraps of Ujjain were overthrown by Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya, who conquered Mālwā, Gujarāt, and Kāthiāwār. When the Gupta Empire began to break-up, Bhaṭārka,

[1] [V. A. Smith, *Early Hist. of India*, 3rd edn., p. 218, and synchronistic table, *J.R.A.S.*, 1917, pp. 273–289. The date of Nahapāna seems to have been considerably earlier than that stated in *E. H. I.*]

a local commander (*Senāpati*), rebelled, and set up the Valabhi dynasty, the fortunes of which are traced in this chapter. As already related, the kings of Valabhi were overthrown by the Arabs about A. D. 766. At the same time, Southern Gujarāt came in the reign of Pulikeśin II (A. D. 608) under the rule of the Western Chālukyas, who in their turn were succeeded by the Rāshṭrakuṭas, about A. D. 750. Meanwhile, about A. D. 746, the Chāpotkaṭa dynasty had been established by Vanarājā the son of Jayaśekhara of Pañchāsarat Anahilvāḍa. Their adventures form the subject of Chapters II–III.]

[FAMILY TREE OF THE MAITRAKAS OF VALABHI

(See *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. viii, App. I B, p. 11.)



CHAPTER II

JYE SHEKER THE CHOWRA, PRINCE OF PUNCHÂSUR

We now proceed, following Shree Mull Sooree and the other fugitives, whom we have beheld escaping thither from Wullubhee to Punchâsur, near the Runn of Kutch. Our guide is the *Rutun Mâlâ*,[1] or garland of jewels, a work composed in verse by a Brahmin named Krishnâjee, to celebrate the praises of the great lion-king of Goozerat.

'Great is the fame of the Solunkhee race,' exclaims the poet; 'it is a race of Devs; Sidh Râj is the light thereof.' It is the aid of his patron, the Goddess of Eloquence alone, which can enable him to recount, worthily, the praises of his hero, though the compositions of former poets have smoothed the road he has to travel, and the pearls which he is proceeding to string have been already pierced by their diamond-like ingenuity. But Krishnâjee would have been no true bard had he been dissatisfied with his own performances, and his self-laudation is conveyed in language which proves that, however liberal in estimating the works of others, he was by no means insensible to the value of his own.

'As a man who has bathed in the ocean has performed all 'pilgrimages,[2] as a man who has tasted ambrosia requires no 'longer any other food, as a man who possesses the philoso-'pher's stone is the owner of all wealth, so that man has read 'all books who has studied *Rutun Mâlâ*. He whose research 'is infinite, but who has not read *Rutun Mâlâ*, is like a 'marble reservoir which is destitute of water, or a splendid 'temple which wants a spire.'

[1] [*Ratnamâḷa*, 'a poetic history with good descriptions and many fables,' taken from Merutunga's *Prabandha Chintâmaṇi*, c. A. D. 1230.]

[2] Because the sacred rivers, which are the scenes of pilgrimage, flow into the ocean.

We are sorry to have to add, that of this inestimable garland, which originally contained one hundred and eight jewels, only eight remain.

The scene is Kuleeân,* where Raja Bhoowur, the Solunkhee, rules, and the time is the year of Vikrum 752, or A. D. 696. The king is surrounded by his sixteen military nobles, whom he retains always about his person. They are faithful men; lovers of the king's prosperity; blenching not in fight; resolute as pillars of the sky. Their names are contained in the verse,—

Chund, Dwund, Bhut, Veyd, Veer,
Singh, Sindhoo, Geeree, Dheer,
Sâmut, Dheemut, Dhunwee, Putoo,
Bheem, Muhâruthee, Meer.

Of these, Meer is the principal, and he is never sent abroad on service. The others are despatched to conquer on all sides, south, north, west, east. Of the surrounding princes, the Goozerat Raja alone remains unvanquished. He is of the Chowra race; his name Jye Sheker; that of his consort Roop Soonduree. Punchâsur is his royal seat. Strong, handsome, and wise; his treasures are inexhaustible, and his army cannot be counted. Of his very existence, however, Bhoowur is kept in ignorance by his chieftains, and fondly reposes in the belief that the whole world is under his control.

The capital city, Kuleeân, is filled with the spoils of conquered foes, with camels, horses, cars, elephants. Jewellers, cloth-makers, chariot-builders, makers of ornamental vessels reside there, and the walls of the houses are covered with colored pictures. Physicians and professors of the mechanical arts abound, as well as those of music, and schools are provided for public education. It is for the sole purpose of comparing the capital city of Ceylon with Kuleeân that the sun remains half the year in the north and half in the south.

Among other virtues, King Bhoowur is personally ambitious of all kinds of wisdom, and he is besides a great patron of literature, and especially, as becomes a wise Hindoo sovereign, of grammar and prosody. His encouragement of learned men is so great, that all cleverness travels towards his palace as certainly as all the waters of the rainy season travel seawards.

One day the king is seated in a garden as beautiful as Shiva's paradise, adorned with exquisite flowers and fruit-trees, where he regales himself with song and the dance. Prince Kurun, the heir apparent, sits beside him royally apparelled, and Chund and others of the nobles adorn the assembly. There sit there also a number of learned men and poets, each outshining the other in wit and wisdom ; but superior to all is the poet king Kâm Râj, the sovereign's friend, who shines among the wise as Bhoowur himself among the warriors. At this time a foreign poet approaching King Bhoowur, presents, as his offering, a string of verses in his praise. The king, delighted with the skill therein displayed, calls upon the poets who surround him to compose an answer, but this no one has the courage to attempt. Bhoowur presents the stranger with a magnificent dress of honor, and enquires of him what is his name, and what that of the country in which he has remained concealed so many years. The poet replies that his name is Shunkur. 'I come,' says he, 'from Goojur-land, the fairest 'portion of the earth, a land full of fertility, splendid with 'water, grass, and trees, where money is plentiful, and where 'men are generous. There is Punchâsur, the residence of 'Ocean's daughter,[1] which equals the city of the gods so com-'pletely, that no one dwelling there has any desire for Paradise. 'The Chowra Raja rules there, who is the pinnacle of all 'warrior races, and who by his exploits, having raised a moun-'tain of fame, has been hailed by the poets as Jye Sheker.[2] His 'chief queen is the incomparable Roop Soonduree, whose 'brother is the wise and valiant Soorpâl. Jye Sheker and 'Soorpâl united could tear the King of Heaven from his throne, 'but little need have they of that, for their own royal Goozerat 'is the essence of the universe. There Suruswutee dwells for 'ever incarnate ; it is there I have acquired this skill, and 'thence I have come forth to conquer the world.' King Bhoowur, hearing this praise of Goozerat, claps his hand on his moustache in defiance. The poet Kâm Râj starts up, and challenges Shunkur to contend with him in verse, but is signally defeated by the latter, who scornfully reminds him that

[1] Suruswutee, the Goddess of Eloquence. [Lakshmi.]

[2] Which name means the 'Fame-pinnacle.'

Shiva (Shunkur) is notoriously the conqueror of the God of Love (Kâm).

Bhoowur Raja, not well pleased with this termination of the day's amusements, returns to his palace. In the evening he summons his chieftains, and desires to hear more of Goozerat. The assembled warriors attempt to impose upon him with a story of their having defeated Jye Sheker, and taken Punchásur, which they had, however, refrained from destroying, on its prince's submission. The Raja, however, disbelieves this tale, and eventually compels Chund to tell the truth. He learns from him that the nobles of Kuleeân, on their way southwards from Urbood Geeree, or Mount Aboo, had met with Soorpâl, in command of his brother-in-law's troops, and that finding it a dangerous matter to contend with him, they had avoided an engagement, and passed on by a circuitous route to Soreth. The Raja immediately gives orders for the preparation of an army, which is soon in array and marching to attack Jye Sheker. Bad omens meet them as they advance, but the king's orders being peremptory, the chieftains do not permit a halt.

Shunkur, the poet, has in the meantime returned home, and made his prince acquainted with what has happened. Jye Sheker, who is of a warlike temper, is delighted at the prospect of the strife, and commences to distribute bracelets, earrings, and other ornaments among his chieftains.

King Bhoowur's force continues to advance. The horsemen and elephants are numerous ; there are four thousand war chariots, troops bearing missile weapons, and foot soldiers without number. The villages on their route are deserted by the inhabitants immediately the approach of the army is perceived ; such as resist are stormed and plundered. Where the invaders pass, watered lands become dry, and dry lands are moistened. At each halting place the troops practice athletic games, and exercise themselves in missile and hand-to-hand weapons. Having reached their enemy's country, they take and plunder a frontier town, and at last pitch their camp six miles from Punchâsur, from which position they plunder the country round, carrying off men and women as prisoners.

Jye Sheker, when he hears of these proceedings, is inflamed

with anger from head to foot. He writes a letter to Meer,* the chief of the invaders, upbraiding him with his oppression of the poor, so unworthy of a warrior, and comparing him to a dog which when it has been struck with a stone, bites the stone instead of fronting the striker. Meer replies by summoning him to make submission to King Bhoowur, taking grass in his mouth, and denounces war as the alternative, a challenge which Jye Sheker has no sooner received than he calls his 'brothers' and other warriors together, and prepares for battle on the morrow.

Soorpâl, who has not been present when Meer's answer is received, determines, unknown to his prince, on surprising the camp of the invaders during the night, at the head of his own partisans. Circumstances favor his intention, and he finds the enemy wholly unprepared; some are absent plundering the neighbouring villages, some eating and drinking, some asleep, some enjoying music and the dance. Soorpâl's followers bursting in upon them, sword in hand, find no more labour in destroying them than the grass-cutter does in cutting grass. Chund is cut down by Soorpâl himself, and Dwund severely wounded; their army is scattered as a crowd of deer among whom a lion has rushed, and flies with the greatest precipitation. Dwund dies of his wounds in the retreat. Veyd, the kinsman of the Purmâr Raja, broken hearted at his disgrace, casts off his military attire, and in the dress of a monk takes the road to Benares. Meer, the chief leader, knowing that his face has been blackened, halts his flying army at eight days' march distance from the capital of his sovereign. King Bhoowur, hearing of this defeat, repairs to Meer's encampment, and addresses himself to re-encourage the fugitive troops, reminding them that retreat is sometimes only the prelude to victory, and that a weapon does not strike its hardest blows until it has been swung backwards. Bhoowur having succeeded in reinspiriting the army and its leaders, holds a council of war, in which an immediate advance upon Goozerat, led by the king in person, is determined upon. They meet good omens on their way, and the air resounds with their instruments of music—the war-horn, the tabor, and the terrible drum.

On their approach, Jye Sheker shuts himself up in Punchâsur,

which is closely invested by King Bhoowur. An attack by Meer is met and repulsed by Soorpâl. The Prince of Punchásur having assembled his warriors, recommends those who 'love their lives' to retire, but the unanimous answer is, that they are Rajpoots, of good descent, and that all are ready to die with him; that should any one disgrace himself by deserting in such an emergency, the crows would disdain to eat his flesh, and he would remain for ten millions of the days of Brahma in hell. After fifty-two days, spent in unsuccessful attacks, King Bhoowur calls Meer into council, and the latter advises that an attempt should be made to corrupt the fidelity of Soorpâl. A letter, written with the milk of a shrub, is then despatched to that chieftain, who, on applying saffron to it, ascertains its contents. The offers of King Bhoowur are, however, indignantly rejected by Soorpâl, who, in answer, declares himself to be as inseparable from Jye Sheker as water which has been once mingled with it is from milk. 'O! 'full of folly,' he exclaims, 'I am well born, how of seducing 'me do you entertain hope? Were the three worlds' royalty 'offered, none but a bastard would receive it.'

As night comes on, the kings, each in his own army, cause verses from the *Muhâbhârut* to be recited,—that great poem which increases the zeal of the warrior, while it supplies him with science. The chieftains of Goozerat, when they hear the wonderful exploits of Bheem, become full of fire. They ask, 'When will the night pass away; when will the morning 'come—the time of battle?'

As a lonely wife longs for her husband's coming,
So they restlessly await the morning till it arrives;
From the lessons of the *Muhâbhârut* they have learned
That the battle-slain win Upsuras to wife.
Joyful then they long to obtain the residence of the gods,
Abandoning this home of dust and worthlessness.
At Jye Sheker's call, when the morning rises,
The splendid warriors all prepare;
From the field, victorious, they have no hope to return—
To fight, to die, to wed the heavenly damsels, is all their desire.
Such stedfastness of the heroes perceiving,
For marriage prepare the divine brides—
What time the warriors don their armour,
The Upsurâs deck themselves in gay apparel—

What time the warriors grasp their weapons,
The Virgins of Paradise wave the marriage garland with their hands;
What time the warriors shake their horses reins,
The celestial damsels urge their chariots to speed.

Roop Soonduree, from the inmost hall, hears the terrible sound of commencing battle—she sends for her lord, and intreats him not to venture into the field unless the omens are propitious, but Jye Sheker replies, that when a bride is to be married, or a foe driven from the gates, there is no omen but the name of Shree Krishn. The opposing armies meet as clouds dashed together by the violence of the storm; their weapons gleam like lightning; the earth resounds with their tread as with the rumbling of thunder; war music sounds, making even the timid valorous; arrows and missiles fall in showers, as rain from the monsoon clouds; with the bill, the mace, the trident, they struggle; elephant strives with elephant, horse with horse, chariot lord with chariot lord. The corpses of the dead float in rivers of blood; the warriors laugh as the terrible roar of battle increases in loudness. The minstrels encourage the less eager—'Well done, sons of the 'warriors,' they cry, 'in this battle-pilgrimage, never again 'to be met with, acquire world-wide fame, win paradise, 'extort homage from gods and men, in this world and the other 'be immortal.'

The shout of battle rising to the skies attracts the attention of the divinities; they ask whether the fight has begun again in the field of the Kooroos.[1] The Upsuras dance, the heavenly minstrels strike their lyres, the deities and the snakes of hell tremble. Shiva hovers over the spot, stringing his never-to-be-completed chaplet of human skulls; witches and ghosts surround him, and the terrible Flesh-eaters and Fates, with their cups of blood, are attracted to the scene like vultures.

Soorpâl, with his accustomed valour, drives back that part of the attacking force which is led by the chieftain Bhut; but King Bhoowur, in person, rallies the fugitives, threatening them with death, and Bhut himself plunges desperately into the

[1] The battle field of the Kooroos and Pânduvs in the epic poem, the *Muhâbhârut*.

thick of the enemy, slaying numbers of them, until he falls pierced with a shower of arrows, and at last mortally wounded by the hand of Soorpâl. The headlong valour of Bhut, however, gains its purpose, for his followers succeed in repulsing the troops of Jye Sheker and establishing themselves under the west side of the fort, in which a breach is soon effected.

Jye Sheker finds that the number of his warriors has been frightfully reduced in this sanguinary engagement, and now, deprived of all hope of victory, he sends for Soorpâl and entreats him to preserve the seed of his race by conveying to some place of safety his pregnant sister Roop Soonduree. Soorpâl at first refuses, but the prince adjures him by his love to obey his directions—'for my advantage let it be done at 'once,' he says, 'there is none of my race to make funeral 'offerings, the progenitors will obtain no respect, no liberation 'will the sonless find, O brother! the seed of my race will be 'destroyed, the enemy will rule without a thorn.' Thus urged, Soorpâl retires from the fort, taking his sister with him; but Roop Soonduree, when at last she discovers the cause of their flight, refuses to continue it, and declares her resolution of burning with the body of her lord. She is, however, dissuaded from this intention by the same argument, regarding the extinction of the race, which had prevailed with Soorpâl himself. Her brother leaves her in the forest, with the intention of returning to die with the prince Jye Sheker.[1]

Meanwhile, King Bhoowur, perceiving that the fort cannot be defended longer, sends an embassy to Jye Sheker, proposing to leave him in possession of the throne of Goozerat on his making submission in the usual form, and appearing to touch the feet of his conqueror, with his hands bound behind him, holding grass in his mouth. Jye Sheker answers, that life would

[1] And I the rather wean me from despair,
For love of Edward's offspring in my womb.
This is it that makes me bridle passion
And bear with mildness my misfortune's cross;
Ay, ay, for this I draw in many a tear,
And stop the rising of blood-sucking sighs,
Lest with my sighs or tears I blast or drown
King Edward's fruit, true heir to the English crown.
Third part of King Henry VI, Act IV, scene 4.

have no pleasure for him after such submission, that Paradise will be good exchange for Goojur-land, and that he, the last of the Chowra race, will, at least, leave behind him its honor. Bhoowur, enraged, immediately prepares to complete his conquest. The few followers that remained to Jye Sheker soon fall, oppressed by superior numbers. The prince, himself, makes a most desperate resistance, mowing down his enemies like grass ; at last, however, he is slain, and over his body the enemy enters Punchâsur. The keepers of the gates, and the guards at the court, resist to the death ; but, after a tremendous struggle, Bhoowur forces his way to the palace. He is there opposed by a furious band of female attendants, armed with the bars of the doors or whatever other weapon offers, and his troops are driven by these beyond the gates of the city. The damsels have now gained their object, which is to secure the corpse of their master, and they soon erect a funeral pile of scented wood, interspersed with cocoa nuts, upon which they consume themselves along with the body of Jye Sheker. Four queens also ascend the pile with many slaves and damsels. Townspeople too, many of them, love-enthralled, follow their prince to the gate of the King of Heaven. At last Bhoowur, forcing his way back with his army, causes the burning to cease, and takes upon himself to celebrate duly the funeral rites of the Chowra prince, whom he praises as an honor to those who gave him birth—a true warrior. Over the place where the pile stood he builds a temple of Shiva, who is there enthroned under the title of 'the Goojur Lord.' The day that Jye Sheker finds his death, the sun is obscured, the four points of the compass wear a terrible aspect, the earth trembles, the river's water becomes muddy, the wind blows hot, the fires of the sacrificial pits emit a dense smoke, stars fall from the heavens ; men, seeing these portents, lament that a hero has perished.

King Bhoowur, having received the submission of the lords of Kutch and Soreth, and perceiving the beauty of Goozerat, is desirous of living there ; but his councillors remind him that Soorpâl lives to be a thorn in his side, and he is therefore content with fixing the tribute to be paid by the surrounding princes, and appointing a minister to represent him in Goozerat.

Soorpâl, returning from placing his sister in safety, finds Jye Sheker already slain. His first impulse is to rush into the fight and follow him in death; but on reflection he considers 'if I die fighting, then Bhoowur's kingdom will be without a 'thorn; what was to happen has happened; now, for the future, 'counsel must be taken. If fortune shall grant a son to my 'sister, I will again recover the royalty of Goozerat; without 'my aid that task cannot be effected.' He sets off to seek his sister; but, being unsuccessful in his attempts at discovering her, or, as some say, being ashamed to present himself before her, he takes up his residence in the forests about the mountain of Gīrnâr to await better times.

Roop Soonduree, herself, after Soorpâl's departure, is discovered by a Bheel woman, who, perceiving her to be a lady of rank, addresses her respectfully,—'remain in the forest with 'me, O sister! flowers, leaves, fruits good for food may be had 'in the mountains, safe shelter shall you find there.' The queen accedes to her entreaties and remains her guest until the time of her delivery arrives, and she gives birth to a son. It is in the spring season, on the fifteenth day of the delightful month of Wyeshâk, at the time of the sun's appearing, that this sun of the land rises; he who is destined to be full of exploits, the protector of cows and Brahmins. Clear that morn rises the orb of day, clear is the sky, clear the river's stream, the Brahmin's sacrificial pit emits no smoke, men know that a hero has been born.

When the boy is six years [months] old, a Jain monk, passing through the forest, beholds a cradle swinging from the branches of a tree, the infant reposing in which seems like a dweller in the courts of the King of Heaven. Astonished, the holy man makes enquiry, and, discovering the mother to be a queen, a king's wife, he brings her with due respect to the city. He informs the mourning lady of the death of Jye Sheker, and, re-assuring her, promises to protect her infant. Born in the forest the child receives from the ascetic the name of Wun Râj, 'the Forest 'King;' but the secret of his birth is soon known to Soorpâl, who from his forest lair keeps the minister of King Bhoowur in continual alarm. Thither he secretly brings the son of his sister, and under his protection Wun Râj resides until his four-

teenth year, rising, like a young lion, ever in valour, strength, and prudence, and meditating in his heart the recovery of his father's throne.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

RÂJA BHUVAḌA OF KALYÂN. P. 26

[According to the *Ratnamālā*, which Forbes follows, Rājā Jayaśekhara was slain in A. D. 696 by the Chālukya Rājā Bhuvaḍa of Kalyānkaṭaka in Kanyākubja (Kanauj). There is evidently some error here as (*a*) there is no Chālukya king of the name of Bhuvaḍa ; (*b*) there is no important place of the name of Kalyān in Kanauj, and (*c*) the Chālukyas did not rule over Kanauj. It is possible that Bhuvaḍa is a corruption of Bhuvanāśrya, a name given to the Chālukya king Vijayāditya of Bādāmi, A. D. 696–733, and doubtless the author is thinking of the great Chālukya capital of Kalyān. But this is an anachronism, for Kalyān was not founded until A. D. 1053. Rājī, the ancestor of the Solaṅki king of Anahilvāḍa, claimed descent from Bhuvaḍa. It is probable, however, that Pañchāsar was destroyed, not by Bhuvaḍa, but by the Arabs in about A. D. 720. See *Gazetteer*, vol. i, part 1 (1896), pp. 150, 156 ; part 2, p. 427, *note* 3. It has also been suggested (*ibid.* p. 156, *note* 2) that Kanyākubja is a mistake for Karṇakubja, an old name of Junāgarh.]

CHAPTER III

WUN RÂJ AND HIS SUCCESSORS—THE CHOWRA DYNASTY OF UNHILPOOR

THE Jain accounts and those which are still traditionally related in Goozerat, of the rise of Wun Râj agree with that given in the Rutun Mâlâ. The Châpotkut [1] or Chowra tribe, to which the prince of Punchâsur belonged, is supposed to have had its origin in the countries west of the Indus.[2] It belongs neither to the solar nor to the lunar race, and is confined to Western India. The predecessors of Jye Sheker or Jus Râj Chowra are said to have been princes of Dev * and Puttun Somnâth, two sea-ports on the coast of Soreth. They may have been vassals of the Kings of Wullubhee, and have retreated on the destruction of that city to the less exposed situation of Punchâsur, the Jains and other subjects of Wullubhee who have been already spoken of availing themselves of their protection. The name of Punchâsur is still preserved in a small town belonging to the Nowâb of Rhâdunpoor, on the edge of the lesser Runn of Kutch. The village of Chundoor, a few miles north of Punchâsur, is the place assigned for Wun Râj's birth ; and another small town, named after him Wunod, is pointed out as the spot at which he resided in his childhood. There is a temple there dedicated to Wunâvee mother, his family goddess, and a well, called Wen, said to have been constructed by his order. This part of Goozerat is

[1] [See Appendix to the Chapter.]

[2] [The Chāvḍās or Chāpas were a Gurjara tribe, who came from Bhinmāl or Śrīmāl, the great capital of the Northern Gurjara race, fifty miles north west of Mount Abu (24° 42′ N., 72° 4′ E.). The astronomer Brahmagupta speaks of the Chāpa dynasty as reigning there in A. D. 628. From Bhinmāl came the clan which settled at Pañchāsar, and emigrated, after the sack of that city, to Aṇahilvāḍa in the 8th century A. C. The name resembles the Prakrit *Choraṭa*, thief, which may point to their origin as a marauding tribe. It is Sanskritized into *Chāpoṭkaṭa*, Strongbow.]

still known by the name of Wudeeâr,[1] which is that given to it by the Jain chroniclers. It is a flat and poorly-cultivated country, partaking of the character of the Runn in its immediate neighbourhood, and studded with small villages, easily discerned from a distance by the clumps of trees which are entirely confined to their vicinity. At Rântoj and Sunkheshur, which are near Punchásur, there still remain temples of the Jain religion, which, though they have been more than once re-erected, have probably occupied those sites from a very early date, and at Vishroda and other places in the neighbourhood vestiges of ancient towns similar to those which are found about Wulleh may still be discerned.

The Jain monk, who was the means of the preservation of Wun Râj, was named Sheelgun Sooree. The young prince is said to have spent his earlier years in the convent to which the Sooree was attached, and stories, such as those which are told of Cyrus in old, or of Guiderius and Arviragus, or of Norval, in modern literature, are related of the unusual spirit of the royal child, which belied his apparent origin. When old enough to endure the hardships of the outlaw's life he joined his uncle Soorpâl in many a foray, in which he distinguished himself by his personal valor as well as encouraged his followers by his bold assumption of royal state, and by his partitioning among them, as if already in his gift, the honors and offices of his still-to-be-recovered kingdom. Shree Devee, the wife of a trader who had hospitably entertained him, was promised the honor of anointing him at his coronation. Jámb or Châmpâ, a merchant, distinguished by his gallantry and warlike skill, the future founder of Châmpâner, was already designated as the King's minister, and for Unhil, another of his followers, to whose local knowledge he was indebted, was reserved the honor of giving his name to the royal city. Many years, however, passed away in these wanderings ; the accession of new friends was counterbalanced by the loss of his brave and faithful kinsman Soorpâl, and the Forest King, though abandoning none of his pretensions, seemed likely to acquire

[1] *Vide* Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, Art. Werrear. 'Beecharjer,' there, is a mistake for Becherâjee or Boucherâjee, the temple, &c., of the Devee so named.

practically no more permanent title of royalty than that for which he was indebted to the misfortunes of his birth. His constancy, however, at last obtained its reward. King Bhoowur had assigned the revenues of Goozerat as the portion of his daughter, Milan Devee, and the Chowra chieftain was appointed by that princess's council of management to the office of 'Selbhrut' or spear-bearer, receiving probably, like chiefs of more modern times, emoluments designed as much to secure his forbearance as to purchase his protection. For neither purpose, however, were they effectual. The delegates from Kuleeân having remained six months in the country, and collected a large sum of money and numbers of the valuable horses for which Soreth has ever been famed, were on their return homewards, when they were attacked, plundered, and slain by Wun Râj. For some time after this exploit he appears to have found it necessary to retire to different parts of the country, where forests or mountains afforded him shelter from the vengeance of the Kuleeân monarch; but the spoils which he had acquired enabled him shortly afterwards to carry out his long-meditated project, by commencing the erection of the new capital of Unhilpoor or Unhilwârâ.[1]

'In the year 802 (A. D. 746),' says a bardic verse, 'a city 'was founded to last for ever; on Muhâ wud 7th, on the day 'of strength Saturday, at three in the afternoon Wun Raja's 'order was proclaimed. The Jain monks skilled in astrology 'having been consulted, after studying the city's horoscope, 'made known that in the year twelve hundred and ninety-'seven Unhilpoor would be desolate.'* How this prophecy was fulfilled in the bloody and destructive days of Allah-ood-Deen, 'The Murderous,' will be seen in the sequel of our story.

Having celebrated his enthronization, at which Shree Devee assisted, and having installed Jâmb as his minister, Wun Râj next directed his attention to his old protector, Sheelgun Sooree, under whose care his mother, Roop Soonduree, still remained, consoled for her widowed state and fallen fortunes by the practice of the rites expected from a zealous follower of the Jain

[1] [Anahilvāḍa, the modern Pātan, on the Sarasvati R., 65 miles NE. of Ahmedabad.]

religion. The old Queen and her spiritual preceptor, with the idol which they served, were brought to Unhilpoor, where a temple was erected which received the object of their worship, under the title of Punchásura Pârusnâth. An image of Wun Râj himself (which is still preserved)* in the attitude of a



worshipper, covered, however, by the scarlet umbrella, denoting his royal state, was also placed in the temple; and in the protection thus given to the religion of the Shrâwuks, the Jain chronicler had doubtless some foundation for his boast that 'the throne of Goozerat from the time of Wun Râj even the 'Jains established, though from hate this truth is not received.' What religion Wun Raja himself adhered to cannot be decisively ascertained. He is described as 'a lover of Devs,'

and is praised for his conquests over that God of Love who claims even the great Muhâ Dev[1] as his sometime slave. There are still to be found at Puttun images of Oomâ Muheshwur and of Gunesh, which bear inscriptions asserting that they were installed by Wun Râj in the year of the foundation of Unhilwârâ. Probably the first Chowra prince was, as some of his successors appear to have been, sufficiently liberal in his religious opinions; and though himself a follower of Shiva, he may have been prompted by gratitude and filial affection, as well as by policy, to encourage the professors of the religion of the Teerthunkers.

Wun Raja was born in A. D. 696, and reigned sixty years in Unhilwârâ. He died in 806, and was succeeded on the throne by his son, Yog Râj.[2]

Of the son of Wun Râj little has been handed down, but that little would seem to declare him to have been a prince worthy of more fortunate times. He steadily increased his dominion and its resources; he was skilled in martial exercises, 'an archer equal to the lord of the Devs.' He was also what may appear more extraordinary, skilful in literature. A work written by Yog Raja, of the nature of which, however, we are not informed, is stated to have been in existence in the time of his chroniclers. It related, perhaps, to the annals of the Châpotkut clan, or more probably was devoted to the

[1] Muhâ Dev is the common name of Shiva. The group called 'Oomâ 'Muheshwur' represents this deity and his consort Pârwutee. Gunesh, the God of Wisdom, is the son of the latter.

[2] According to the author of *Rutun Mâlâ*, Wun Râj was born in A. D. 696. Wilford, quoting from the *Ayeen i Akberi*, says that he built Nerwala in 746, at the age of fifty, and must therefore have been born in 696. The Prubundh Chintâmunee states that Wun Râj reigned sixty years, from 746 to 806. This would make him 110 years old at the time of his death. Colonel Tod places the beginning of his reign in 746, and says he ruled fifty years and lived sixty. But he could not have founded Unhilpoor at the age of ten, nor would the date of his death, according to this account, agree with that given by the other authorities. Probably the date assigned to Wun Râj's birth is incorrect. As to the long reigns of the Balhara princes, see, however, Tod's Western India and the remarks of the Arabian travellers. [The dates of the Chāvaḍa princes are unsettled. For a provisional arrangement see Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrājī's list, given, with a few modifications, at the end of this chapter.]

praises of Oomâ's lord, or to the divine lover[1] of Râdhâ, celebrated in so many a verse.

One incident alone is preserved by the chroniclers of Goozerat, of the times when Yog Raja reigned in Unhilwârâ. Certain foreign ships having arrived at the sea port of Puttun in Soreth, laden with valuable merchandise, though neither the port from which they departed nor the country to which they were destined is known, the traders were, contrary to the express prohibitions of the king, attacked and plundered by the heir to the throne, Prince Kshem Râj. This violation of the laws of hospitality appears to have been most bitterly regretted by the king, who blamed Kshem Râj and his two brothers, who had shared in his expedition, declaring that they had undone all that he had striven for during his life. 'When 'in distant countries,' said he 'the men of wisdom have 'weighed the actions of princes, then the sovereigns of Goozerat 'have been despised as ruling over a kingdom of thieves. 'That fault of our ancestors I had hoped to have made dim, 'that I too might have been received into the line of kings. This 'avarice of yours has brightened it anew. It is thus written in 'the rules of policy—"Disobeying the injunction of a king, "destroying the livelihood of a Brahmin, departing from the "bed of a wife, these three are wounds inflicted without a "weapon."' Yog Raja[2] lived to a great age, and at the close of a reign of five and thirty years, 'ascended the funeral pile.'

Of the immediate successors of Yog Râj still less has been handed down. His son, Kshem Râj, though passionate in his temper, and on that account, probably, unfortunate in those he

[1] Shree Krishn, an Uvutâr or incarnation of Vishnoo.

[2] A Mohammedan invasion is stated to have occurred in the reign of Khoman of Cheetore, a contemporary of Yog Râj, when among other chiefs, of names afterwards well known in Goozerat, the following came to aid the Gehlote prince,—from Mangrol, the Mucwahana; from Taragur, (q. Taringa), the Rewur; from Puttun, the royal Chawura; from Sirohee, the Deora; the Jâdoo from Joonagurh; the Jhala from Pâtree; from Choteeala (Choteyla), the Balla; from Perumgurh, the Gohil. Our authorities, however, make no mention of Yog Raja's having been engaged against the Mussulman, nor does it appear that the clans, whose leaders are mentioned, were with the exception of the Yadoos and Balas of Soorashtra, settled at so early a period in Goozerat.

employed, and separated from his own kinsmen, still added to the extent and wealth of his kingdom. He died in A. D. 866, after a reign of five and twenty years.

Shree Bhooyud, the son of Kshem Râj, reigned till A. D. 895. His reign was prosperous and peaceful, 'no enemy opposing 'him.'

Shree Vair Singh, 'the lion of his enemies,' had a more troubled reign, than his father Bhooyud. He encountered the barbarians but with success—'contending in war, he never 'suffered defeat.' He was assisted by a minister 'of great 'wisdom.' We have been unable to discover any clue to the foreign war here mentioned.

Rutunâditya, the Reshadut of the Mohummedan historians,* succeeded his father Vair Singh, in the year A. D. 920.

'The sun he seemed of the earth, his splendor was measure-'less, he took affliction from the world, famous was he for 'strength, courageous, adhering to his pledge; neither thieves, 'cheats, libertines, nor liars, did he permit to remain in the 'land.' He died, A. D. 935, and was succeeded by his son, Sâmunt Singh, the last prince of the direct line of Wun Râj, and of the house of the Chowras.

It was in the reigns of Kshem Râj and Bhooyud, that the Arabian travellers,[1] according to M. Renaudot, visited India; and in the scanty annals of these reigns, their remarks, supposed, as they have been, to refer to the descendants of Wun Râj, deserve a place, however difficult may be the task of applying them. The first traveller states as follows:—

'Both the Indians and Chinese agree, that there are four 'great or principal kings in the world; they allow the King 'of the Arabs to be the first, and to be, without dispute, the 'most powerful of kings, the most wealthy and the most 'excellent every way; because he is the prince and head of a 'great religion, and because no other surpasses him in great-'ness or power.'

[1] [The reference is to the *Silsilât-ut-Tawârîkh* or *Chain of History*, A. D. 851, by Sulaimân, a merchant who visited Gujarât. The work was completed by Abn Zeid-al-Hasan about A. D. 910. The latter lived at Sirâf on the Persian Gulf and wrote from accounts supplied by travellers. See Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, vol. i, p. 1, ff.]

'The Emperor of China reckons himself next after the 'King of the Arabs, and after him the King of the Greeks; 'and lastly, the *Balhara*, King of *Moharmi al Adan*, or of '*those who have their ears bored*. This *Balhara* is the most 'illustrious prince in all the Indies; and all the other kings 'there, though each is master and independent in his king'dom, acknowledge in him this prerogative and pre-eminence. 'When he sends ambassadors to them, they receive them with 'extraordinary honors, because of the respect they bear him. 'This king makes magnificent presents, after the manner of 'the Arabs; and has horses and elephants in very great 'number, and great treasures in money. He has of those 'pieces of silver, called Thartarian Drams, which weigh 'half-a-dram more than the Arabesque Dram. They are 'coined with the die of the prince, and bear the year of his 'reign from the last of the reign of his predecessor. They 'compute not their years from the æra of Mohammed, as do 'the Arabs, but only by the years of their kings. Most of 'these princes have lived a long time, and many of them 'have reigned above fifty-years; and those of the country 'believe that the length of their lives, and of their reigns, is 'granted to them in recompense for their kindness to the 'Arabs. In truth, there are no princes more heartily affec'tionate to the Arabs, and their subjects profess the same 'friendship for us.'

'*Balhara* is an appellative common to all these kings, as 'was *Cosroes* and some others, and is not a proper name. The 'country which owes obedience to this prince, begins on the 'coast of the province called *Kamkam*, and reaches by land to 'the confines of China. He is surrounded by the dominions 'of many kings who are at war with him, and yet he never 'marches against them. One of these kings is the King of '*Haraz*, who has very numerous forces, and is stronger in 'horse than all the other princes of the Indies; but is an 'enemy to the Arabs, though he, at the same time, confesses 'their king to be the greatest of kings; nor is there a prince 'in the Indies who has a greater aversion to Mohammedism. 'His dominions are upon a promontory, where are much 'riches, many camels, and other cattle. The inhabitants here

'traffic with silver they wash for, and they say there are 'mines of the same on the continent. There is no talk of 'robbers in this country no more than in the rest of the 'Indies.

'On one side of this kingdom lies that of Tafek, which is 'not of very great extent; this king has the finest white 'women in all the Indies, but he is subject to the kings about 'him, his army being small. He has a great affection for the 'Arabs as well as the Balhara.

'These kingdoms border upon the lands of a king called '*Rahmi*, who is at war with the King of Haraz and with the 'Balhara also. This prince is not much considered either for 'his birth or the antiquity of his kingdom, but his forces are 'more numerous than those of the Balhara, and even than 'those of the Kings of Haraz and Tafek. They say that when 'he takes the field he appears at the head of fifty thousand 'elephants, and that he commonly marches in the winter 'season, because the elephants not being able to bear with 'thirst, he can move at no other time. They say, also, that 'in his army there are commonly from ten to fifteen thousand 'tents. In this same country they make cotton garments in 'so extraordinary a manner, that nowhere else are the like to 'be seen. These garments are for the most part round, and 'wove to that degree of fineness that they may be drawn 'through a ring of a middling size.

'Shells are current in this country, and serve for small 'money notwithstanding that they have gold and silver, 'wood-aloes and sable-skins, of which they make the furni-'ture of saddles and housings. In this same country is the 'famous *karkandan* or unicorn. . . .

'After this kingdom there is another, which is an inland 'state, distant from the coast, and called *Kashbin*. The inhabi-'tants are white, and bore their ears; they have camels, 'and their country is a desert and full of mountains.

'Farther on upon the coast there is a small kingdom, 'called *Hitrange*, which is very poor; but it has a bay, where 'the sea throws up great lumps of ambergreese. They have, 'also, elephants' teeth and pepper, but the inhabitants eat it 'green, because of the smallness of the quantity they gather.'

It is difficult to recognize in the term 'Balhara'[1] anything which applies to the early Chowra sovereigns of Unhilwârâ, nor does the description of the Balhara kingdom, beginning on the coast of Kamkam, and reaching by land to the confines of China, present much more that is tangible. The traveller's assertion of the supremacy of the Balhara appears to be a more qualified one than it has been considered. Each king, it is said, though acknowledging the Balhara's pre-eminence, 'is 'master and independent in his kingdom;' and again, in another place, 'the several states of the Indies are not subject to one 'and the same king, but each province has its own king; never-'theless, the Balhara is, in the Indies, as king of kings.' The King of Haraz bears so far a resemblance to the Yâduv ruler of Soreth, the Râ, whose regal seat was the old fort on the hill near Girnâr, that he is described as possessing dominions situated upon a promontory, and as maintaining a superiority to his neighbours in the number of his cavalry. We can discover no clue to the account of the Kings of Tafek or Kashbin, nor to that of the Rahmi. Colonel Tod concludes Kashbin to be Kutch Bhooj, but this latter province can hardly be identified with 'an inland state, distant from the coast.' The same author conjectures that Hitrunje refers to Shutroonjye. Renaudot's own remark upon the general subject is one which is still applicable. 'It is well known,' he says, 'that the 'names of these countries as they stand with us, have been for 'the most part corrupted; and that they are hard to be 'expressed in Arabian characters: it were then almost to no 'purpose to enter upon a number of conjectures, which at the 'best must be very doubtful.'

Some notices of customs which occur in this traveller would, however, appear well adapted to the probable state of society among the Hindoos in Goozerat at this period. The account of ordeals by fire and water we shall hereafter extract, and, in

[1] The term Balhara has been variously supposed to be a corruption of Balaca Raee (Prince of Bal, or the Sun,) Balhiraee (for Wullubhee Râj, King of Wullubhee,) Bhuttarkah (Cherishing Sun, a royal title,) or to be a titular distinction locally derived from the district called the Bhal. Vide *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xii, p. 7, and the references there quoted.

addition, we may refer to the custom, reported to be universal, of burning the bodies of the dead, to that of the voluntary self-sacrifice of wives on the funeral pile of their husbands, to the description of Ascetics, naked or covered only with a leopard's skin, standing for periods of great length with their faces exposed to the heat of the sun. 'In all these kingdoms,' says the traveller, 'the sovereign power resides in the royal 'family, and never departs from it; and those of this family 'succeed each other. In like manner there are families of 'learned men, of physicians, and of all the artificers concerned 'in architecture, and none of these ever mix with a family of a 'profession different from their own.' Polygamy, the common use of rice, the practice of taking answers from idols, that of total ablutions before eating, and others, are also mentioned. 'The Indian dominions,' it is said, 'furnish a great number of 'soldiers who are not paid by the king, but when they are 'rendezvoused for war, take the field entirely at their own 'expense, and are no charge to the king.'

Aboo Zeid al Hassan, the second traveller, adds 'it is a 'customary thing for a man and woman of the Indian blood to 'desire those of their family to throw them into the fire, or 'drown them, when they are grown old or perceive themselves 'to sink under the weight of years, firmly believing they are 'to return in other bodies. The Indians,' he says, 'have 'devotees and doctors known by the name of Brahmins. They 'have poets also who compose verses stuffed with flattery in 'praise of their kings. Astrologers they have, philosophers, 'soothsayers, and men who observe the flight of birds, and 'others who pretend to the calculation of nativities, parti-'cularly at Kanuge, a great city in the kingdom of Goraz[1].'[2]

[1] ['Goraz' is a corruption of Gurjara. Kanauj was ruled for a time by Gurjara Pratihāras.]

[2] 'The large majority of Asiatics are so infatuated in favor of judicial 'astrology, that, according to their phraseology, no circumstance can 'happen below, which is not written above. In every enterprise they 'consult their astrologers; when two armies have completed every 'preparation for battle, no consideration can induce the generals to 'commence the engagement until the sahet be performed—that is, until 'the propitious moment for attack be ascertained. In like manner, no 'commanding officer is nominated, no marriage takes place, and no

He notices the peculiarities of the rainy season—' these rains ' are the life of the Indians ; were they to fail they would be ' reduced to the deepest want.' Add the following description of the Ascetics, ' Bicars,' as Aboo Zeid terms them, a name which Colonel Tod conjectures to be a mistake for ' Fakeers,' but which may more easily be traced to ' Bheekâree,' ' beggar,' a common name for these vagrants :—

' In the Indies there are certain men called *Bicar* who go all ' their lifetime naked, and suffer their hair to grow till it hides ' their bodies. They suffer also their nails to grow so that ' they become pointed and sharp as swords, nor do they ever ' cut them, but leave them to break and fall off as it happens, ' and this they observe as a religious duty. Each of them has ' a string about his neck whereto hangs an earthen porringer ; ' and when they are pressed by hunger they stop at the door of ' some Indian house, and those within immediately and joyfully ' bring out rice to them, believing there is great merit in so ' doing ; while they eat out of the porringer and withdraw, ' never returning to make the same request if not by necessity ' urged thereto.' Again, ' one part of their devotion consists ' in building of kans or inns upon the highways for the accom- ' modation of travellers ; where also they set up dealers, of ' whom the passengers may purchase what they may happen to ' want.' In another place, ' there are certain Indians who ' never eat two out of the same dish, or upon the same table ; ' and would deem it a very great sin if they should. Were ' they a hundred in number they must each have a separate ' dish, without the least communication with the rest. Their ' kings, and persons of high quality, have fresh tables made ' for them every day, together with little dishes and plates ' wove of the cocoa-nut leaf, in which they eat what is pre- ' pared for their subsistence ; and their meal over, they throw

' journey is undertaken, without consulting these seers. Their advice ' is considered absolutely necessary even on the most trifling occasions, as ' he proposed purchase of a slave, or the first wearing of new clothes. ' This silly superstition is so general an annoyance, and attended with ' such important and disagreable consequences, that I am astonished it ' has continued so long : the astrologer is necessarily made acquainted ' with every transaction, public and private, with every project, common ' and extraordinary.'—*Bernier*, translated by Irving Brock. [Ed. by Constable and V. A. Smith (Oxford University Press, 1914), p. 161.]

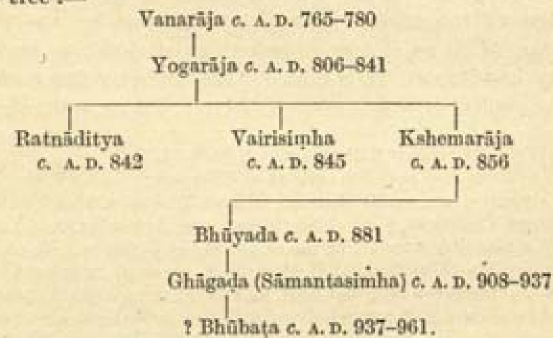
'the table, the dishes, and plates into the water, together with 'the fragments they have left. Thus at every meal they 'have a new service.

'The kings of the Indies wear ear-rings of precious stones 'set in gold. They wear also collars of great price, adorned 'with precious stones of divers colours, but especially green 'and red; yet pearls are what they most esteem, and their 'value surpasses that of all other jewels; they, at present, 'hoard them up in their treasures with their most precious 'things. The grandees of the court, the great officers and 'captains, wear the like jewels on their collars; they dress 'in a half vest, and carry a parasol of peacock's feathers to 'shade them from the sun, and are surrounded by those of 'their train.'

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

THE CHĀVAḌA DYNASTY

[The whole history of the dynasty is, as Mr. A. M. T. Jackson remarks, 'likely to remain obscure until the discovery of contemporary inscriptions throws more light upon it than can be gathered from the confused and contradictory legends collected by the Solaṅki historians, none of whom are older than the twelfth century.' See *Gazetteer*, vol. i, part 1, pp. 150–155, *Indian Antiquary*, xvii, 192. The following is a provisional dynastic tree:—



Other authorities put back Vanarāja's date to A. D. 746.]

CHAPTER IV

MOOL RÂJ SOLUNKHEE

SÂMUNT SINGH [1] is no favorite of the chroniclers; he is described as a prince of no reputation, who had no consideration for what he spoke either night or day, who was possessed of neither discretion nor firmness, knew no distinction between good and bad—between hostile and friendly, and who was continually changing his mind. Little, however, is recorded of his short reign of seven years, except the fact of his being son-less, and the circumstances which led to the establishment of the Solunkhee [2] family on the throne of Unhilwârâ.

Three youths, named Râj, Beej, and Dunduk, sons of Bhoowunâditya, who was fourth in descent from King Bhoowur of Kuleeân, visited the court of Sâmunt Singh on their return from a pilgrimage to the shrine of Somnâth. Probably, religion was not their only object in quitting home, and they appear to have come forth, as has always been the practice of the younger brothers of a Rajpoot royal house, to seek that fortune in foreign lands which the jealousy, attendant upon their contiguity to the throne, denied to them at home. The eldest of the three brothers is described by the author of *Rutun Mâlâ* as fair in complexion, of middling stature, and very handsome. It is added, 'He was observant of religion, 'the continual worshipper of Shiva; but he suffered affliction

[1] [Probably this is Ghāgaḍa *c.* A. D. 908–937.]

[2] [Solaṅki is a popular variant of Chālukya. If Rājī, the founder of the dynasty, was really descended from Bhuvaḍa, and Bhuvaḍa is the Western Chālukya King Vijayāditya (see Appendix to Chap. II), we have a plausible account of the origin of the dynasty. He cannot, however, be *fourth* in descent if there is a space of nearly two centuries (733–961) between him and Rāji, and as the copper-plate grants call him *Mahârâjâdhirâjâ*, we must dismiss the legend about his coming as an *adventurer*. He probably dispossessed the Chāvaḍa prince by force of arms.]

'on account of his wives, nor was he more happy in regard 'to the other gifts of fortune.' Distinguished by his birth and by the qualities of a good warrior, Prince Râj obtained from the King of Unhilwârâ the hand of his own sister, Leelâ Devee. This princess became pregnant by him, and died in labour; but a male child was taken alive from her womb, who, from the fact of his having been born under the constellation so entitled, received the name of *Mool* Râj. He was adopted by Sâmunt Singh, and distinguished himself at an early age, 'exhibiting the splendor of a rising sun,' extending the territories of his uncle, and rendering himself dear to all. The subsequent acts of Mool Râj, however, justify the character given of him by the author of *Rutun Mâlâ*, who asserts him to have been treacherous, unmerciful, and intent upon self-aggrandisement. 'He was handsome in person, though dark 'in his complexion; a slave to the deity of love; he held 'money in a firm grasp, concealing it below the earth; in 'war he was unskilled, but if opposed to an enemy he des-'troyed him, inspiring confidence by his deceitfulness.' When he was arrived at mature age, Sâmunt Singh, in a fit of drunkenness, caused the ceremony of his inauguration to be performed; but no sooner had the king recovered his senses, than he revoked his abdication of the throne. 'From that 'time,' says the Jain annalist, 'the valuelessness of the gift 'made by a Chowra became proverbial.' Mool Râj, however, having once tasted the delights of royal power, was little likely to resign them. Collecting troops, he attacked and slew his uncle, and seated himself firmly on the throne upon which he had been placed in a too dangerous sport. 'There are seven 'things without gratitude,' observes, upon this, the author of the Koomâr Pâl Churittra, 'a daughter's husband, a scorpion, 'a tiger, wine, a fool, *a sister's son*, and a king. Each is 'incapable of estimating benefits.' To ensure to himself a thornless rule, Mool Râj, as is asserted by a Brahminical authority, put to death, besides, 'the whole of his mother's 'race,'—a murderous act, the guilt of which was not, as will be seen in the sequel, unfelt by himself, however it may have been extenuated by his chronicler, who endeavours to make light of the fate of the sufferers, stigmatizing them as 'sinners,

'proud, drinkers of liquor, oppressors of the people, despisers 'of Devs and Brahmins.'[1]

The demise of the direct line of the Chowras rendered Goozerat an object for the ambition of more than one of the surrounding princes, and the political craftiness of Mool Râj was soon employed in protecting his newly acquired throne from numerous enemies. On the north, the king of the hundred thousand villages, otherwise described as the Rajâ of Nâgor, or of Sâmbhur—the country afterwards known as Ujmeer—was his first assailant. Almost simultaneously Goozerat was invaded by Bârp, the general of Teilip, the sovereign of Telingânâ.[2] Mool Râj retired under this double pressure from Unhilwârâ, and, following his usual wily system, or, as his chroniclers assert, persuaded by his ministers—who recommended him to restrain his valour by the example of the ram, retiring that he may strike the harder, or of the tiger, angrily crouching that he may spring with more deadly effect—he established himself in the fort of Kunt Kot, within the remote and unassailable frontier of Kutch, in the hope that the necessities of the season might compel the Raja of Ujmeer to retire. That prince, however, held his ground during the monsoon, and when the Nowrâttra[3] arrived was prepared to assume the offensive. Mool Râj then collected his chieftains, and having, by inducements, of which there is no intelligible

[1] A sceptre, snatch'd with an unruly hand,
Must be as boisterously maintain'd, as gain'd;
And he that stands upon a slippery place
Makes nice of no vile hold to stay him up.
King John, Act III, scene 4.

[2] In an account of the Châlookya, or Solunkhee dynasty of Kuleeân, by Mr. Walter Elliot, (vide *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iv, p. 1), mention is made of a king named '*Teilapa Deva*,' who reigned from Saka, 895 to 919, (or A. D. 974 to 998), and who was, therefore, a contemporary of Mool Râj, and, doubtless, the Teilip here alluded to. The same 'Teilapa Deva' is, however, mentioned as having slain '*the brave Munja*,' a king of Mālwā, of whom hereafter. The northern limit of the kingdom of Kuleeân is stated, by Mr. Elliot, to have been the river Nerbudda. [Tailappa II defeated the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kakka II, and founded the dynasty of the Chālukyas of Kalyān, A. D. 974. Twenty years later, he crossed the Godāvari, and slew Mañja, the Parmāra Rājā of Mālwā. Bārappa was a Kanarese.]

[3] The festival of nine nights—*vide* conclusion.

record, procured the withdrawal of the troops of Ujmeer, he attacked the army of Bârp, slew that general, and dispersed his followers with great slaughter.[1]

Mool Râj, thus relieved of his foes, commenced the erection of several religious buildings at Unhilwârâ, and of that more famous shrine of Muhâ Dev, which he did not live to complete, the Roodra Mâlâ of Sidhpoor. Shiva, it is related, was so won by the assiduities of his royal votary, that he gave him the kingdom of Soreth, containing one of the most memorable of all the temples of the god—that of Somnâth. The story of the acquisition of Soreth is, however, related in detail by the celebrated Hemâchârya in his Dwyâshrây, from which we now proceed to offer an extract :—

'Mool Râj,' says the Jain teacher, 'was the benefactor 'of the world ; he was generous-minded—full of all good 'qualities. All kings worshipped him as they worshipped the 'sun, all subjects who abandoned their own country found a 'happy residence under his protection ; so that he won the 'title of "enthraller of the universe." Of his enemies, the 'half he slew, the other half he forced to beg alms, like out-'casts, without the walls of his city. Their wives who, like 'frogs in a well,[2] had never beheld anything more remote 'than the entrance to their dwellings, were seized by Bheels 'as they wandered into the forests, and sold in the towns as 'slaves.'

Once on a time Somnâth Muhâ Dev appeared to Mool Râj in a dream, desiring him to destroy Grâh Ripoo,[3] and other

[1] It is this event, perhaps, which the traditions of the Chohāns of Nadole allude to in the following verse :—

'In S. 1039, (A. D. 983), at the farther gate of the city of Puttun, 'Lákhun Row, the Chohan, collected the commercial duties. He took 'tribute from the lord of Mewar, and performed whatever he had a mind 'to.'—Tod's *Rajasthan*, iii, 1450, ed. 1920.

[2] 'To dive, like buckets, in concealed wells.'

King John, Act V, scene 2.

[3] Grâh Ripoo appears to be a title, or epithet, rather than a name. A commentator on the Dwyâshrây makes its meaning to be 'enemy (*ripoo*) 'of water-animals (*Grâh.*)' It may mean 'seizer of enemies.' One of the princes of Ujmeer, from having defeated a Mohammedan king, was called 'Sultan Graha,' the sultan-seizer. (*Vide* Tod's *Rajasthan*, iii, 1451, 1457). Prubhâs, called also Shiv Puttun, Someshwur Puttun, Puttun Somnath,

Dytes (or demons), who laid waste the sacred place of pilgrimage at Prubhâs, and assuring him that 'by my splendor 'you shall have victory.'

The next morning, as soon as the 'crown-wearing princes 'who were present, according to custom,' withdrew from the royal chamber, the Solunkhee Raja consulted with his ministers, Jumbuk and Jehul, the Prince of Kherâloo, 'as to the 'mode in which he should obey the commands of Muhâ Dev.' 'Grâh Ripoo,' he said, 'was made of consequence by myself; 'but if born in an inauspicious time, he has become shame-'less, destroying the performers of pilgrimage, should I not 'slay him, though entrusted with authority by myself?' Jehul answers by enumerating the misdeeds of Grâh Ripoo :—

'This shepherd is very tyrannical; ruling in Soorâshtra, on 'a throne until his time shining with the splendor derived 'from the rule of Shree Krishn, he slays the pilgrims that 'travel towards Prubhâs, and strews the highway with their 'flesh and bones. He lives as fearless as Râwun, at Wâ-'munsthulee, a city over which waved the splendid banners 'of Hunoomân and Gurood;[1] and he permits thieves to 'dwell in other places of sacred recollections; he despises 'Brahmins, and plunders people passing along the road; 'therefore he is like an arrow, causing pain in the hearts of 'the religious. He is young and lusty, and full of desire; 'therefore, slaying his enemies, he carries off their wives by 'force to his own female apartments. This barbarian hunts 'upon mount Girnâr, and slays the deer at Prubhâs. He

is the port on the coast of Soreth, within the confines of which stood the celebrated temple of Shiva, which was attacked by Mahmood of Ghuznee. [Graharipu means 'enemy of the planet'. He was one of the famous Chudāsama kings of Wanthali. The race was founded by Rā Chuda A. D. 875. Graharipu built the 'Ūparkot' or fortress of Junāgarh. The adventures of another king of the line, Rā Khengāra, are narrated in Chapter IX, and the tragic end of the dynasty at the hands of Mahmūd Begaḍa, A. D. 1470, on p. 355. 'Daitya' and 'Asura' are epithets often applied to wild tribes, such as Bhīls and Kolis, not Aryan in their rites.]

[1] Gurood is the eagle of Vishnoo, represented sometimes as a crowned prince borne through the air upon wings. Hunoomân is the monkey (or aboriginal) king who joined Vishnoo when, incarnate under the form of Râm, he conquered Râwun, the giant king of Ceylon. Bhoots and Pisâchs are part of the goblin crew which follows Shiva.

'eats the flesh of cows, and drinks spirituous liquor, and in 'battle he feeds the Bhoots, the Pisâchs, and all their crew, 'with the blood of his enemies. This lord of the west, Grâh 'Ripoo, has caused many rajas of the south and the north to 'fly, leaving their chariots; now, therefore, he regards no 'one, but looks lofty as he walks as if he meditated the con-'quest of Heaven. Grâh Ripoo is huge in person like Yuma, 'the King of Hades, and like Yuma, too, in temper, he 'seems disposed to devour the whole earth, or to seize upon 'Paradise. The men of skill in his kingdom, from associating 'with such an evil one, employ their science in constructing 'all sorts of weapons from which it is impossible to escape, 'in matters discriminating religious and irreligious practice 'they do not exercise themselves. He is strong in military 'force, so that all rajas are compelled to bend to him. He 'is very wealthy; he seized the Raja of Sindh and com-'pelled him to pay, as a fine, elephants and horses, and he 'has subdued many other sovereigns. I believe that the 'King of Hades, himself, were he to make war upon him, 'would have no means of escape but submission to paying 'tribute. He destroys great forts and safe places among the 'mountains; he can pass and repass the ocean too, therefore 'people have no single means of escaping. It is as when 'destiny, enraged with the world, leaves no means of escape. 'The earth suffers pain from the load of his sins. The raja 'who can punish murderers, and neglects to do so, is a 'murderer himself; therefore, if you do not destroy him, his 'sin will be yours O King! Shiva has given the order to 'you because you can destroy him. Assemble your army 'and expel him, lest his strength day by day increase, until, 'at last, he become too strong to be subdued even by your-'self.'

Mool Râj, when he had heard the advice of Jehul to this effect, made a sign to Jumbuk, the minister, sage as the counsellor of the gods, who, thus invited, spake as follows:

'Wâmunsthulee,[1] where Grâh Ripoo makes his residence,

[1] Wâmunsthulee is the modern Buntullee, near Joonagurh. Colonel Walker, in his report on the Soreth district, has the following: 'The ancient residence of the Rajahs of Soreth was first at Buntullee.'

'is under the shadow of the great Girnâr, and, besides, the 'roaring of the ocean may be heard therefrom. It is strengthened by another castle, still more nearly protected both by sea 'and mountain. Grâh Ripoo is one who closes his eyes not 'even in the night time; to conquer him without large 'resources is as impossible as it is to cut down a huge tree with 'a grass-cutter's sickle. An army could not encamp within 'many miles of his city, and even were this accomplished, he 'would surround it and prevent the possibility of your rendering any assistance. Kutch, too, is within easy reach of 'Soreth, and Lâkhâ, the lord thereof, the son of Phoolâ, a great 'raja, and unconquered by any, is as inseparable from Grâh 'Ripoo as if they were the sons of the same mother. There 'are many other rajas, too, assisting these confederates,—barbarians, that cause terror to the universe. O! king, it is well 'known that an enemy, who is aided by mountain, forest, or 'ocean, is hard to conquer. This Grâh Ripoo numbers all 'three as his supporters. Entrust this expedition to no other, 'then, but in person set forth and win the victory. Though 'untameable by others, these warriors of shepherd race will 'tremble the moment they hear of your advance against them, 'and their wives will at once commence the widow's song of 'lamentation.'

Mool Râj, incited by these warlike counsels, which added fuel to the fiery zeal for battle already burning in his bosom, rose from his throne, brilliant as a flower just expanded into full bloom by the heat of the day-bringer's rays, and clenching his hands like one already engaged in combat, strode forth from the council chamber, followed by the leaders of his warriors.

The season of cold had arrived, an abundant crop covered the earth; the water of the tanks and of the rivers became clear, the sky was cleared of clouds, the lotus was in full bloom, its hue reminding the poet of the shining lips of the lovely. The lingering drops of rain fell in pearls upon the coasts of Soreth.[1] The swan, rising from the Himalayan lake, its retreat during the season of rains, returned to the Ganges and the other rivers. The cultivators' wives guarding

[1] 'Some say when it rains the oysters rise up to the surface, and that, 'gaping, the drops of water they catch turn to pearls.'—*Renaudot*, p. 97.

the ripening rice-crop in the plains, made the country joyous with their songs. In the temples of the Devs the Brahmins read the Veds and the Book of Doorgâ,— setting up the water-jar, fasting and keeping a solitary watch, they passed the nine nights ; then feasting on the tenth day, they anointed the head of the raja with water from the consecrated jar. High festival was held to the lord of Paradise, and flags flaunted over the temples. The memories of Wâmun and Bulee Raja[1] filled the earth with joy, while from his lengthened meditation, stretched on the sea of Milk, the great Vishnoo arose.

At the gate of Mool Râj the drum sounded and the royal drum rolled. The conch-shell spoke a good omen ; the noise of many musical instruments proclaimed even to the dwellers in Paradise that the king prepared to lead forth his warriors. The princes that followed the banner of Unhilwârâ poured in with their followers, eager to advance upon Soreth. The king sat upon his throne ; beside him they formed upon the ground with pearls the crosses[2] that betoken success and happiness ; singers sang songs, standing on either side ; the servants waved fans over his head. Astrologers, full of science from their cradle, calculated the auspicious time. The household priest performed the worship of horse and elephant ; the king bent his head before them. At length the rod-bearers advanced ; the soldiers grasping their arms stood in lines about the doors. Again the instruments of music sounded.

[1] Vishnoo assumed the form of the dwarf Wâmun to prevent Bulee Raja from obtaining the dominion of the three worlds. See, however, account of 'Bulev day' in the Conclusion.

[2] A cross thus shaped is a common sign of rejoicing among Hindoos. It is called 'Swusteek,' and is the usual female signature. It is also the sign of Soopârswa the seventh Teerthunker of the Jains. Vide *Asiat. Researches*, ix, p. 306. 'This 'cross, denominated in a MS. of the fifteenth century the '"Fylfot," was in use at a very remote period, as a 'mystic symbol amongst religious devotees in India 'and China, whence it appears to have been introduced, probably in the 'sixth century, into Europe. "It occurs," says Mr. Waller, "on the 'early Christian remains, and is found on the girdle of a priest of 'the date A. D. 1077." On brasses it is a common ornament anterior 'to the accession of Richard II.' Vide *Monumental Brasses and Slabs*, by Rev. Charles Boutell, M.A. Oxford. Parker, 1847. Footnote to page 28.

As the king rose from his cushion, the priest, stepping forward, placed the royal mark (teeluk) upon his forehead, pronouncing the words 'auspicious, auspicious.' Mool Râj and his chieftains made presents, as they set forth, to Brahmins and to Bards, the recorders of fame. Mounting, the king made obeisance to his patron deity; he rode upon an elephant, black and huge as a mountain, overshadowed by clouds; the horses neighed as he set forth; all hailed the omen of success: from the palace to the city-gate the whole way was sprinkled with reddened water; the astrologers blessed the king, crying, 'may you be victorious,—may your enemy depart to the 'south, to the city of Yuma!' As the cavalcade went on, great was the throng in the city; women crowded the streets, dressed in scarlet clothes and glittering with ornaments; in the press many a flower garland was broken, many a necklace of pearls scattered; as the procession passed through the market-place the people strewed fruit and flowers before the raja on the way; the women of the city abandoned their house-work, and left their children crying; they hastened to behold the cavalcade; for many a mile as it passed along, the villagers thronged from far to behold their sovereign, for as Indra among gods, so among men shone Mool Râj in beauty, qualities, and power.

Hearing that the King of Unhilwârâ approached with a large force, Grâh Ripoo assembled his army. The kings that adhered to him, whether allies or tributaries, joined his standard; many forest Bheels were with him; the sons of his wives, Neelee and others, who dwelt on the banks of the Bhâdur river, famous in Soreth, came arrayed in iron armour. He was joined also by his friend Lâkhâ, the Raja of Kutch, who, though his death in the war was predicted by the astrologers, desired to win his way through the battle-field to Paradise. 'Lâkhâ cries shame to him whose youthful deeds no 'one has witnessed. The days of my life are counted; how 'shall I know their span?' Sindhoo Raja, also, whose kingdom was on the banks of the ocean, brought up an army, and with it occupied a position in the south.

On the side of Mool Râj fought the Raja of Sheelprusth, a skilful bowman; a raja of Marwar, followed by men wearing

long locks upon their unshorn heads; a raja from the land of Benares; the Prince of Shreemâl and his paramount lord, the Purmâr Raja of mount Aboo and the north; the Raja Gungâmah, the brother of the Prince of Unhilwârâ, was also there, but the Solunkhee's cousins, the sons of Beej and Dunduk, refused to follow the head of their line.

Mool Raja's force was drawn up in serried phalanxes, while the warriors of Aboo, being pre-eminent in valor, fought separate from the main body of the army, lining the banks of the river Jumboomâlee, where their prince, after slaying many warriors, won 'a banner of victory' from the enemy. The soldiers of Goozerat displayed great valor and skill in weapons, and the demons, their enemies, though they were covered with defensive armor and carried ponderous shields, and though roaring like thunder clouds they discharged a storm of arrows, were at last seized with a panic and fled, leaving in the conqueror's hands their leader, who had been struck from his elephant by the hand of Mool Râj.

Lâkhâ, the Prince of Kutch, at this time sought a parley and offered ransom for his friend, which was, however, refused by the King of Unhilwârâ. He then rushed fiercely upon Mool Râj; but that prince was filled with strength derived from the divinity he served, and Lâkhâ, in this unequal contest, fell, pierced by the Solunkhee spear. Treading down the Jhâreja prince, Mool Râj set his foot upon his throat. The mother of Lâkhâ beholding the corpse of her son, his long moustache stirred by the wind, heaped her curses upon his destroyer. 'By the spider poison may his race perish.' [1]

Râ Lâkhâ appears, however, to have had other causes for

[1] That is to say '*Lootâ*,' the leprosy, a disease which was supposed by the Hindoos to be inflicted as the punishment of an offence against the sun. In the Prubundh Chintâmunee, a poet named Bân, at the court of Bhoj Raja, of Malwa, is represented as having been struck with leprosy, from which he recovered by making submission to the sun. This deity was, we know, much worshipped of old in Soreth. A similar notion among the Persians is mentioned by Herodotus (Clio). 'If any of the citizens have 'a leprosy or scrofulous disease, he is not permitted to stay within the 'city nor to converse with other Persians, having, as they believe, drawn 'this punishment upon himself by some offence committed against the sun.' The Jews, in like manner, accounted leprosy to be an especial visitation on account of especial sins.

hostility to Mool Râj in addition to that of his alliance with the Prince of Soreth. It is said that Râj Solunkhee, on becoming a widower, proceeded on a pilgrimage towards Vishnoo's temple at Dwârkâ, and that on his return he visited the court of Lâkhâ Phoolânee and espoused that prince's sister, Râyâjee, by whom he had a son named Râkhâeech. The evil destiny attributed to him by the chronicler followed him, however, in this second matrimonial connection. In an untoward dispute regarding precedence, Râj Solunkhee, with many of his Rajpoot followers, was slain by Lâkhâ, and the Jhâreja princess, Râyâjee, became a Sutee. Beej Solunkhee, the uncle of Mool Râj, urged his nephew to take revenge on account of this feud ; and Mool Râj himself appears to have been incited against Lâkhâ by political reasons also, the Râ maintaining at his court Râkhâeech, the younger son of Râj, with the view of opposing him to his brother.

The honor of slaying Lâkhâ in single combat has not been allowed to Mool Râj without a contest. Perhaps, like the Duke of Clarence slain by Buchan and his knights at Beaugé, the Prince of the Jhârejas fell under the strokes of more than one of the warriors who assailed him. The Raja of Marwar, who is mentioned by Hemâchârya, by name Seeyojee Râthor, the ancestor of the royal houses of Jodhpoor and Eedur, had visited Unhilwârâ and contracted a marriage with the daughter of Mool Râj,* and being thus present at the engagement, it was by his hand, as the bards of his race assert, that the Phoolânee fell.

'The very powerful raja took a vow of pilgrimage—the 'son of Set [1]—with his army. Mool Râj sent a cocoa-nut. 'Help me to-day, O Lord of Kanouj. "I am going on pil-'grimage to Gomtee—betrothal must be talked of afterwards. 'When, having completed my pilgrimage, I commence my 'return home, I will then listen to your proposals." At Puttun 'Seeyo married at Mool Râj's bridal-hall. The Jhâreja's fort 'the Râthor destroyed. In the heart of the enemy he rankled 'like an arrow. When did the Kumdhuj [2] and the Yâduv 'quarrel ? But it was the Solunkhee that he assisted. In

[1] Set Râthor was Seeyojee's father. Sending a cocoa-nut is the form of making proposals of marriage. *Vide* Conclusion.

[2] That is, the Râthor.

'fight Seeyo slew Lâkhâ. Ages shall wear away, but this 'tale shall survive.'

Mool Râj, rejoining his army, paid his adoration at the holy Prubhâs, worshipping the sacred Someshwur. He then returned home, his army laden with spoils, and followed by a train of elephants taken from the enemy.

Sometime after his return to Unhilwârâ, a son, named Châmoond, was born to Mool Râj. The prince displayed unusual intellectual tastes, even from his childhood, but of his frequent visits to the Roodra Mâlâ those delighted him the most which enabled him to listen to the story of the Muhâbhârut recited in the assembly of sages.

One day the prince, entering the royal presence-chamber and making his obeisance, had seated himself, when ambassadors from kings of remote countries were ushered in, bearing the gifts by which their sovereigns sought to propitiate the favor of the King of Unhilwârâ. Chariots from Ung were presented, red jewels from the sea-shore, and gold from Wunwâs. The Raja of Devgeeree offered a yearly tribute, he of Kollâpoor laid jewels at the feet of Mool Râj. The Kashmeer prince presented the celebrated musk of his country, he of Kooroo land an umbrella of many colors, the Sovereign of Punchâl sent cows and slaves. Last of all came the ambassador from Lâth, the country of the south, presenting from his master, Dwârup,* an elephant so ill-favored that the astrologers at once pronounced it to be 'an incarnation of death.' The 'bad omen' produced by this present struck the courtiers with consternation, and the insult offered by King Dwârup so roused the anger of Châmoond, the heir-apparent, that he could with difficulty be restrained by Mool Râj from immediately setting forth to resent it. The astrological conjunction, however, being adverse, Mool Râj refused to set forth, and contented himself with ordering that the ambassadors from Lâth, with their ill-boding presents, should be contemptuously expelled. As soon, however, as the fortunate time arrived, Mool Râj and the prince advanced with an army to punish the insolence of Dwârup. They reached the banks of the Nerbudda, the boundary of their kingdom, advancing with such rapidity that the women bathing in the river received no alarm until they saw the warriors

descending from the lofty banks into the stream. The army passed through the towns of Sooryâpoor and Bhrigoo Kucha [1] (Broach), and arrived at the country of Dwârup, celebrated at that time for ill-favored women, whose clumsy waists, and complexions, dingy as if from continual proximity to the cooking fire, provoked the laughter of the chiefs of Goozerat. The Raja of Lâth, though supported by the kings of the islands, was an easy conquest. He was attacked and slain by Prince Châmoond with the van of the Goozerat army, supported only by small detachments from the troops commanded by Mool Râj. Châmoond having thus fleshed his maiden sword, was received with delight by his father, and the army soon retraced its steps to Unhilwârâ.

The career of Mool Râj had now reached its limit. Lord of the kingdom of Unhilwârâ, in right of his mother, he had pushed forward its frontier in every direction; Kutch had been subdued by him; the holy land of Soreth obeyed his commands; the inhabitants of the Dekkan had beheld his standards flying victoriously beyond the Nerbudda and the range of Injâdree; his supremacy was acknowledged by the Purmâr prince, who ruled in the impregnable towers of Uchulgurh on the summit of the sacred Aboo; and under his leading the chivalrous errants of Marwar and northern India followed, for the first time, the banners of Goojur Râshtra. His domestic life had also been prosperous, and he possessed that blessing so invaluable to a Hindoo, and which the most illustrious of the future sovereigns of Unhilpoor were not destined to obtain—a son worthy to be his successor.

At the close of his reign, however, Mool Râj is represented as wandering about painfully from one place of pilgrimage to another, full of remorse for the slaughter of his mother's kindred, and eager only to obtain, at whatever price, the means of expiation. Tired of his wanderings, full of sin and calamity, of great age, ignorant, and a lover of repose, his thoughts at last reverted to Sidhpoor, where we have already beheld him winning the favor of Muhâ Dev, by commencing the erection of a temple in his honor.

[1] Bhrigoo Kucha appears to be the nearest approach to the 'Barygaza' of the Greeks of any Hindoo name under which Broach is known.

The small but translucent river Suruswutee runs westwards towards the Runn of Kutch, from the celebrated shrine of Kotheshwur Muhâ Dev, in the marble hills of Ârâsoor. For a short distance, however, as it passes the town of Sidhpoor, the virgin river makes a bend towards the east, and though sacred at all times, its course is at this point esteemed more peculiarly holy, as pursued so far towards the face of the rising sun.

The picturesque town of Sidhpoor stands on the steep northern bank of the Suruswutee, exhibiting towards the river numerous modern houses, the residences of Borahs and other wealthy traders, which, half European as they are in form, with balustered terraces, and windows fenced with Venetian screens, contrast not unpleasingly with the frequent spire-covered Hindoo shrines of the sacred town. Here and there patches of garden intervene, with plantain and other fruit-bearing trees, among which the statelier mango is not wanting; and above all still protrudes the grim and giant-like skeleton of the old Roodra Mâlâ, with its flight of steps, extending to a considerable distance along the edge of the river. On the level southern bank is a striking foreground of convents used by the Shaivite devotees, the handsomest of which was constructed by Ahilya Bye, the widow of Holkar, and in the remote distance the mountains stretching towards Ârâsoor and Aboo, complete the view. Sidhpoor is a place of unusual sanctity:—

'Of all places of pilgrimage the greatest is Shreesthul, as 'great sages of old have declared. It is the giver of all wealth; 'he who but beholds it attains liberation. At Gyâ, Paradise is 'three leagues distant; at Pruyâg, a league-and-a-half; at 'Shreesthul, a cubit only; there where Suruswutee travels 'eastwards.'

To this holy place of pilgrimage the worn out king retired to purify himself for the approach of death. But personal austerities alone he had been taught were not sufficient. 'Fasting, vows, bathing, pilgrimages and penances, when 'ratified by Brahmins, are fruitful—not otherwise. The 'deities ratify what Brahmins pronounce; by their words, as 'if by water, unclean men are cleansed.' Mool Râj prepared

therefore for the reception of holy Brahmins with their families, whom he brought by his entreaties from the mountains of the north or from good places of pilgrimage near founts of water, or in the forest. The sons of the sages, well skilled in the Veds, married, youthful, worthy to be served, agreed to repair to the banks of the virgin river. One hundred and five came from where the Yumoona mingles with the Ganges,[1] a hundred readers of the Sâm Ved came from Chyuwun Âshrum, two hundred from Kunyâcoobj, one hundred, bright as the sun, from Benares, two hundred and seventy-two from Kooroo Kshetra, one hundred from Gungâdwâr, one hundred from Naimeech Ârunya. A further hundred and thirty-two the king sent for from Kooroo Kshetra. The smoke of their sacrifices ascended in clouds into the sky.

The king having been informed of their arrival, prostrated himself before them, and received their benediction. Then joining his hands, he said, 'By your kindness I have at last 'obtained some advantage from having been born. My hope 'will now be realized; therefore, O Brahmins! receive my 'kingdom, my wealth, my elephants, my horses, whatever 'may be your desire, in kindness to me. I am humble, your 'servant, full of grief.' They answered: 'O great king! we 'are not capable of conducting the affairs of a kingdom; why, 'then, should we receive it to its destruction. Purshoorâm, 'the son of Jumudugnee, twenty-one times gave the land to 'us, taking it by force from the Kshutrees.' The king said: 'I will protect you, O great Brahmins; do you remain in 'your austerities free from care.' The Brahmins said: 'Learned men have declared, that they who live near a king 'suffer calamity; kings are boastful, deceitful, full of their 'own objects; still, if you are desirous of giving, give us this 'great and heart pleasing Shreesthul, O king of kings! where 'we may remain in pleasure. The gold and silver, the jewels, 'which you proposed to give to Brahmins, lay out in adorning 'the town.' The raja, joyful at the attainment of his wishes, washed the feet of the Brahmins, and presented them with earrings and bracelets. He gave to them Shreesthulpoor,

[1] The Jumna and the Ganges unite under the walls of Allahabad, at the sacred spot known by Hindoos as Pruyâg.

with cows, and chariots hung with garlands of gold, and jewels, and other gifts.

Mool Râj gave, also, the beautiful and wealthy city of Singhpoor (Seehore) to ten Brahmins, with many other presents. To other Brahmins he gave also many smaller villages in the neighbourhood of Sidhpoor and Seehore. A company of six priests for a long time refused his gifts, even after they had been accepted by their friends. With these, however, the entreaties of the king at last prevailed, and they accepted the gift of the town of Cambay with twelve villages.

'Stumbh Teerth first he gave, among men Khumbât called, 'to six of these that delight in the moon-leaf,[1] together with 'sixty horses.' Having made these gifts, Mool Râj called his sons and sons' sons, and recommended the Brahmins to their protection. He then committed the kingdom to his son Châmoond, and retiring to Sidhpoor, spent the remainder of his life there in a palace which he had built, called Rumeeyâshrum, or 'the house of delights.' At length he passed to Nârâyunpoor to the presence of Lukshmee's lord.

'Him, the fire god, with his tresses of smoke worshipped ; 'by worship only was he enthralled. What of another war-'rior's story ? The sun's disk he divided.'

Mool Râj reigned fifty-five years, from A. D. 942 to 997.

[1] It used to be the practice among Hindoos at the time of sacrifice, to cause each person who proposed to officiate, to take into his mouth a portion of the 'Som-wullee,' or moon-plant, which, it was supposed, no one but a true Brahmin could retain.

The following list of the successors of Mool Râj is from a copper-plate inscription, dated Sumwut 1266 (or A. D. 1210,) found a few years ago in a treasure room at Ahmedabad, and since presented by the author of the present work to the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

I. He who was splendid in the line of kings, the very valiant, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Mool Râj Dev.

II. The successor to his throne, the very valiant, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Châmoond Râj Dev.

III The successor to his throne, the very valiant, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Doorlubh Râj Dev.

IV. The successor to his throne, the very valiant, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Bheem Dev.

V. The successor to his throne, the very valiant, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, who was without a competitor in fight in Heaven, Earth, or Hell, the illustrious Kurun Dev.

VI. The successor to his throne, the very valiant, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, the conqueror of Wurwurk the lord of Oojein, the emperor of Siddhs (demi-gods), the illustrious Jye Singh Dev.

VII. The successor to his throne, the very valiant, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, of great splendour, Vishnoo-like in his exploits, who conquered with his army . . . , the illustrious Koomâr Pâl Dev.

VIII. The successor to his throne, the very valiant, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, a stainless incarnation in the Iron Age, who gained from the great a title, the illustrious Ujye Pâl Dev.

IX. The successor to his throne, the very valiant, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, in fight unconquerable as Nâgârjoon, the illustrious Mool Râj Dev.

X. The successor to his throne, the very valiant, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, a second Siddh Râj Dev, or an incarnation of Nârâyun, the illustrious Bheem Dev, rules auspiciously, &c. &c. &c.

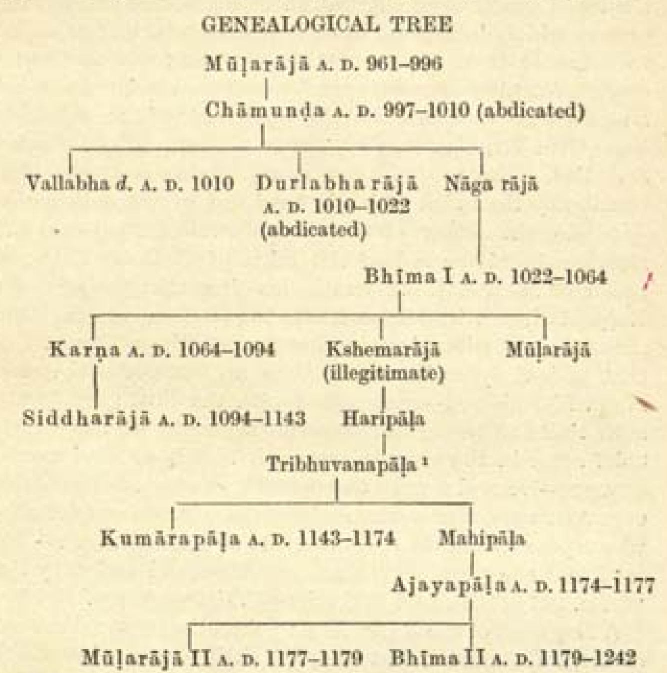
[See list on following page.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV

THE CHĀLUKYAS OF ANAHILVĀḌA

[The Chālukyas or Solaṅkis probably were descended from the Western Chālukya King Vijayāditya I (See p. 50, *note* 2, and Appendix to Chapter II). The great Chālukya race was divided into four main branches, the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi, the later Chālukyas of Kalyān, and the Anahilvāḍa dynasty. They held sway over large regions of Western India from A. D. 550 to 1190. They were Agnikula Rājputs, apparently Gurjara by descent.

GENEALOGICAL TREE



This is Dr. Bhagavanlāl's arrangement, *Gazetteer*, vol. i, part 1, p. 157 ff. Kielhorn gives a list differing in some details (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, App. I, B, p. 14.]

[1] [His sister married one Dhavala, the ancestor of the Vāghelās. See Appendix to Chapter XV, and p. 191.]

CHAPTER V

CHMÂOOND—WULLUBH—DOORLUBH—THE FALL OF SOMNÂTH

The writers of Hindoo historical legends (whether these be derived from Jain or Brahminical sources, or contained in the compositions of the bards, who were the 'recorders of fame' of the Rajpoot races) are apt to preserve a constant and sullen silence in regard to all circumstances, no matter how notorious or how widely influential in their results, which seem to them to derogate from the reputation of their heroes. Over the career of a guilty, unwise, or unfortunate sovereign, the Hindoo annalist draws a black curtain, upon which is recorded, with more than Venetian brevity, the facts that a prince was born, and died. There can be few more striking instances of this peculiarity than that which is furnished by the Jain monk of Wudwân, the author of the chronicle called *Prubundh Chintâmunee*, in his record of the reign of Châmoond, the successor of Mool Râj. It was in his time that the sun of the Rajpoots began to decline before the Moslem crescent, that a strange and furious invader burst upon the plains of India, that ancient dynasties were shaken, ancient gods—the eternal Muhâ Kâl himself—confounded with the dust; and yet, in such times as these, the powerful sovereign of Unhilwârâ, a chief actor in the troubled scene, is dismissed with words as unsuggestive and few as those which shortly afterwards were engraved upon the monumental slabs of the peaceful abbots who repose within the quiet cloisters of Westminster :—

'From the year of Vikrum one thousand and fifty-three, '(A. D. 997) Châmoond Râj reigned thirteen years.'

A fragment of the *Rutun Mâlâ* paints the personal character of Raja Châmoond, but supplies little further information, though it is in one respect important, as furnishing a Hindoo allusion to the presence of the Mohummedan in Goozerat during this king's reign. It is as follows :—

'The son of Mool Râj was Châmoond Râj ; he was attenuated

'in person and yellow in his complexion ; very fond of eating 'and drinking, and of handsome dress. He cultivated good 'trees in his garden ; he built wells and tanks ; leaving many 'tasks unfinished, he went to the gate of Yuma. He was 'better than his father ; *he had no enemy but the Yuwun ;* 'in the kingdom his memory was long respected.'

The short account of Châmoond's reign, which is found in the *Dwyâshrây*, though it is very remarkable for the faults of omission whith we have already noticed, and though some of the statements made in it are probably attempts to cover the truth by a version of facts more in consonance with the feelings of the writer and those he addresses, is nevertheless valuable as affording, perhaps, the true solution of many difficulties in the history of the first Mohummedan invasion of India.

After the death of his father, Châmoond Râj, it is said, managed the affairs of the kingdom of Unhilwârâ in a good manner ; increasing his treasures, his army, and his fame. He was defective in no point ; and he preserved the landgift which had been bequeathed to him by Mool Râj. A son, named Wullubh Râj, was born to Châmoond ; he, too, became skilled in royal science, and fit to fill the throne. He was condescending and brave, and the king, therefore, was very much delighted in heart, while the enemies of the throne, who had looked forward with expectation to living in quiet after Châmoond's decease, abandoned that hope.

'Wullubh Râj,' says Krishnâjee, the Brahmin, 'was of 'dwarfish stature, but in mind able ; abandoning wickedness. 'He was ruddy in complexion ; on his body freckles were very 'prevalent ; he never broke his word, though very ambitious 'of rule ; leaving his schemes unfinished, he departed quitting 'the body.'

Châmoond Râj, continues Hemâchârya, had another son, named Doorlubh Râj. He, too, became so full of exploits, that from fear of him no *Usoor*[1] dare raise his head. When the astrologers examined this prince's horoscope, they pronounced with confidence that he would be celebrated for great achievements ; that he would conquer his enemies ; encourage the practice of wisdom, and become a king of kings. This

[1] Barbarian, one not a Hindoo.

Doorlubh Râj and his elder brother Wullubh Râj pursued their studies together, and bore great affection to each other, setting their father before them as an example. Afterwards Châmoond Râj had a third son, named Nâg Râj.

Once on a time, Châmoond Râj, inflamed by the passion of love, injured his own sister Châcheenee Devee. To expiate this sin, he placed Wullubh Râj on the throne, and proceeded on a pilgrimage to Benares. As he went, the Raja of Malwa took from him the umbrella, horse-hair * fans, and other royal ensigns. Then Châmoond, having completed his pilgrimage, returned to Unhilwârâ, and urged Wullubh, by his filial affection, to punish the author of this insult. Wullubh Râj, thereupon assembling an army, advanced upon Malwa, but on the road, as fortune had so decreed, he was attacked with the disease called *seetulâ* (i. e. small-pox,) which no physician was able to cure. Then Wullubh Râj, dismissing the hope of battle, began to pray to the supreme lord, and to perform religious rites. He died there, and the army in great grief returned to Unhilwârâ.[1] Châmoond, heart-broken at the loss of his eldest son, caused Doorlubh Râj to be placed on the throne, and then retired, as a penitent, to Shookul Teerth, near Broach, on the banks of the Nerbudda, the place celebrated for the repentance of the famous Chundra Goopt and his wicked minister Chânukya ;[2] and in that retreat he died.

[1] It is stated in the annals of Jesulmer, that Rawul Bachera, one of the opponents of Mahmood of Ghuznee, in his invasion of India, married in A. D. 1010, the daughter of Wullubh, sen. Solunkhee Raja of Puttun. *Vide* Tod's *Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, ii, 1201, and foot notes.

[2] 'It is said that it was the wicked *Chânacya* who caused the eight royal brothers (of Chandra-Gupta) to be murdered ; and it is added, 'that *Chânacya*, after his paroxysm of revengeful rage was over, was 'exceedingly troubled in his mind, and so much stung with remorse for 'his crime, and the effusion of human blood, which took place in conse-'quence of it, that he withdrew to the *Sucla-Tirtha*, a famous place of 'worship near the sea, on the bank of the *Narmadâ*, and seven coss to the 'west of *Baroche*, to get himself purified. There, having gone through 'a most severe course of religious austerities and expiatory ceremonies, he 'was directed to sail upon the river in a boat with white sails, which, if 'they turned black, would be to him a sure sign of the remission of his 'sins ; the blackness of which would attach itself to the sails. It hap-'pened so, and he joyfully sent the boat adrift, with his sins, into the sea.

'This ceremony, or another very similar to it (for the expense of a boat

After that event Doorlubh Râj managed the affairs of the kingdom in a good manner, bravely conquering the Usoors, building temples, and performing many religious actions. He constructed the reservoir, called the Doorlubh Surowur at Unhilwârâ. Shree Jineshwur Sooree gave instruction to Doorlubh Raja; therefore being informed of the rudiments of the Jain religion, he travelled in the good road of pity for living things. His sister chose Muhendra, the Raja of Marwar, for her husband, when she beheld him seated in the Swuyumbur Mundup.[1] Doorlubh Raja himself was the choice of Muhendra Raja's sister Doorlubh Devee, whose selection of him drew upon him the enmity of many other rajas, and at the same time her younger sister was espoused by Nâg Râj, the youngest son of Châmoond.

Afterwards, Doorlubh's younger brother, Nâg Râj, had a son, named Bheem. Mortals owe three debts; which are paid by chastity and the cultivation of wisdom, by performance of fire sacrifice, and by begetting a son. When, therefore, Bheem was born, Doorlubh and Nâg Râj, on account of the debt to the progenitors (Peetrees) having been discharged, joyfully held high festival in the court. At the time of the prince's birth a voice from the sky proclaimed his future greatness.

When Bheem grew up, Doorlubh, desiring to retire to a place of pilgrimage, that he might perform penances for the happiness of his soul, pressed that prince to relieve him of the burden of royalty. Bheem at first refused, but Doorlubh and Nâg Râj continuing to entreat him, he at length allowed his enthronization to be performed. At that time a rain of flowers fell from the sky. Afterwards Doorlubh and Nâg Râj departed to Paradise.

The following character of Doorlubh Râj from the *Rutun*

'would be too great), is performed to this day at the *Sucla-Tirtha*; but, 'instead of a boat, they use a common earthen pot, in which they light 'a lamp, and send it adrift with the accumulated load of their sins. . . .

'It seems that *Chandra-Gupta*, after he was firmly seated on his im-'perial throne, accompanied *Chânacya*, to the *Sucla-tirtha*, in order to get 'himself purified also.' *Vide* Wilford's 'Essay on the Kings of Magadha,' *Asiat. Res.*, ix, p. 96.*

[1] The hall in which a princess publicly selected her husband from among her assembled suitors.

Mâlâ will be useful in our subsequent enquiries. 'Doorlubh 'was lofty in stature and fair in complexion; he was much 'addicted to asceticism; the worshipper of the husband of 'Heemâlâ's * daughter; he was not easily incited by anger, 'being enlightened by knowledge; he loved the society of 'ascetics, bathing, gifts, and the banks of Ganges; warlike 'ambition from his birth abandoning.'

The same story which is told by Hemâchârya of Châmoond Raja is repeated by the author of the *Prubundh Chintâmunee*, in reference to Doorlubh Râj, who is stated to have proceeded on a pilgrimage to Benares, after having resigned the throne to Bheem Dev, and to have been obstructed in his passage through Malwa by Moonj Raja, who then ruled there, and who compelled him to lay aside the ensigns of royalty. Doorlubh, it is said, proceeded on his pilgrimage in the attire of a monk, and died at Benares, having, however, caused Bheem Dev to become acquainted with the insulting conduct of the raja of Malwa. From that time, it is added, there arose a root of enmity between the lord of Goozerat and the Malwa king.

It is mentioned in the Bhoj Churittra, that Doorlubh Râj visited Moonj, by whom he was advised to resume the throne, which advice was subsequently resented by Bheem.[1] Such a resignation of royal state appears to have been a common practice in ancient times, the Rajpoot princes esteeming a death in the holy land of Gayâ as the safe passage to beatitude, for which at a later period they substituted a raid against the enemies of their faith, when the followers of Islam made war upon their religion. It does not, however, so easily appear how Doorlubh could have been considered competent to resume the throne. A prince having once abandoned the government should, according to Rajpoot practice, never again enter the capital. He is virtually dead; he cannot be a subject, and he is no longer king; he drops his former name, and assumes one suited to the future ascetic. To render the act more impressive, an effigy of the abdicated king is made, and on the twelfth day following his resignation (being the usual period of mourning) it is committed to the flames of the funeral pyre. The hair and moustache of his successor are removed, and the women's

[1] *Vide* Tod's *Western India*, p. 170-1.

apartments resound with wailings and lamentations for the dead.[1]

The character of Bheem Raja is given, evidently *con amore* by the bard Krishnâjee, and though we propose turning aside to the oft-told tale of Somnâth, as related by the Mohummedan historians, before proceeding with the Hindoo traditions of the reign of Bheem, we prefer quoting Krishnâjee's fragment in this place, as it may tend to elucidate the part which his hero played in the resistance opposed to the fierce iconoclast of Ghuznee.

'Doorlubh's successor was Bheem Dev; splendid as the 'Dev's Dev; skilled in the practice of war; seizing the bow. 'He was strong and tall in person; his body covered with 'hair; his face was somewhat swarthy, but goodly to behold. 'He was high spirited, fond of martial deeds; not he afraid, 'the Mlech challenging.'

It was about the time when Canute the Great, having defeated the Saxons in England, was employing himself in decorating the old minster at Winchester 'with such magnifi-'cence as confounded the minds of strangers at the sight of the 'gold and silver and the splendour of the jewels,' that another sovereign, as successful a soldier, and as enthusiastic a lover of architectural display, undertook, in the far east, an enterprise in which he sought to perpetuate his name by the destruction of an idolatrous shrine, perhaps more splendid than that Christian temple which the politic western sovereign was engaged in founding. Eleven expeditions against the Hindoo enemies of Islam had, for a time, satisfied the avarice, and satiated the zeal, of the Sultan of Ghuznee; but the faith of the idolaters was unbroken, and from the ancient oracle of Muhâ Kâl the response still went forth which asserted that the victories of the crescent were but permitted scourges by which an inattentive people was to be compelled to the more assiduous worship of the great Someshwur. At this time, therefore, the champion of the faith once more called up his energy, and determined on a final effort which should transmit his name to posterity among the greatest scourges of idolatry, if not the greatest promoters of Islam.

[1] *Vide* Tod's *Rajasthan*, i, 426; iii, 1467, 1509.

Mahmood left Ghuznee on his expedition against Somnâth in September, A.D. 1024*; his numerous army was accompanied by crowds of volunteers, the flower of the youth of Toorkistan. In a month they had reached Mooltan, and prepared themselves for the arduous task of crossing the wide desert which still intervened between them and the plains of India. This barrier was successfully surmounted. The town of Ujmeer quickly fell into their hands,[1] and, without heeding the fortress which crowned the adjacent hill, they continued their march, skirting the base of the Arâwul mountains, until, the stupendous Aboo looming in their rear, they had passed into the plains of Goozerat and beheld, stretched before them, the city of Unhilwârâ. Completely surprised, his feudal vassals unassembled, his own thoughts perhaps occupied rather with the trees in his garden, or with the reservoirs which he was constructing, than with preparations for the day of battle, Châmoond Raja [2] was totally without the means of maintaining, against such an enemy, the widely extended defences of his capital. He fled, and the army of Islam entered without opposition.

It was against the gods, however, and not the kings of the Hindoos that Mahmood now made war; and, the city of Wun Râj left behind, his banners were soon rapidly advancing towards Somnâth.

The small port and bay of Verâwul lie on the south-western coast of Soorâshtra, in a country exceedingly rich, thickly wooded, and in high cultivation. Upon a projection of land, forming the southern extremity of this little bay, which, with its bold and graceful curvature, and its golden sands kept in perpetual agitation by the surf, has been pronounced to be

[1] The Rajpoot traditions relate that Mahmood was repulsed from Ujmeer by the Chohân prince, Beer Beelun Dev, or Dhurumguj, who lost his life in the action, *T. R.* ii, 447, 451; (but, afterwards) 'Mahmood 'attacked Ujmeer, which was abandoned, and the country around given 'up to devastation and plunder. The citadel, Gurh Beetli, however, held 'out, and Mahmood was foiled, wounded, and obliged to retreat by 'Nadole, another Chohan possession which he sacked, and then proceeded 'to Nehrwalla, &c.' *Id.* 448.

[2] [Chāmuṇḍa Rāja died in A. D. 1010, fourteen years before the battle. Bhīma was reigning when the Mahommedan invasion took place. See note at the end of the chapter.]

unrivalled in India, stands the city of Dev Puttun or Prubhâs. Its massive walls of uncemented stones, pierced by double gates and defended by numerous rectangular towers, enclose a square possessing a circumference of nearly two miles ; a ditch twenty-five feet broad, and about as deep as it is wide, faced with masonry, and capable of being inundated at pleasure, surrounds the whole. Its general plan, the mutilated images which here and there protrude, and the architectural ornaments which appear on numerous mosques or private houses still, in language that cannot be mistaken, proclaim the Hindoo origin of the city of Somnâth through all the innovations of its conquerors. The celebrated shrine of Muhâ Kâl occupies a lofty and projecting rock in the south-western corner of the city and close to the walls, whose base is washed by the ocean. Its original design, and the gorgeous style of its architecture, may still be traced in the complete ruin which it now presents. For a considerable distance around the temple, the whole space is occupied by portions of columns, sculptured stones, and other fragments of the original building, and the wonderful solidity of its structure was, within a few years, visibly attested by a battery of heavy ordnance, mounted upon its roof, to defend from the pirates, who formerly infested this coast, the neighbouring port of Verâwul.

Such is the present state of the far-famed shrine of Someshwur Muhâ Dev ; but to behold it as it met the eye of the army of Islam, we must recall its lofty spire rising far above the blue horizon of its ocean background, the tawny banner of Shiva fluttering from its summit, the porticoes and pyramid-like dome, the courts and columned aisles that surrounded them, and the numerous subordinate shrines which, as satellites, heightened the splendour of this chosen dwelling of the ' Lord of the Moon '—all now levelled with the earth, or built into the walls of mosques, ruined in their turn, or into the humble dwellings of mortals.[1]

Notwithstanding the rapidity of his approach, and though the country which he had passed through had been undefended,

[1] This description of Somnâth is from Tod's *Western India*, and Kittoe's ' Notes on a Journey to Girnar,' *Journal of the Bengal Branch of the Asiatic Society*, vol. vii, p. 865.*

Mahmood found a host of men in arms ready to risk their lives for the protection of Somnâth, and the punishment of the invaders. Making a signal for a herald to approach, they proclaimed defiance, and vaunted that the mighty Someshwur had drawn the Mohummedans thither to blast them in a moment, and avenge the insults of the gods of India. Next morning the green banner of the prophet was unfurled, and the Mohummedan troops, advancing to the walls, commenced the attack. The battlements were in a short time cleared by the archers, and the Hindoos, astonished and dispirited at the unexpected fury of the assault, leaving the ramparts, crowded into the sacred precincts, and prostrating themselves in tears before the symbol of their god, implored his aid. The assailants, seizing this opportunity, applied their scaling ladders, and mounted the walls amidst shouts of 'Allah Akbar;' but the Rajpoots, as easily excited as dispirited, rallied in defence, and, before the sun went down, the soldiers of Mahmood, unable to retain their footing, and wearied with fatigue, fell back on all sides and retired.

Next morning the action was renewed; but the assailants as fast as they scaled the walls were hurled down headlong by the besieged, and the labours of the second day proved to the Mohummedans even more unsuccessful than those of the first.

On the third day the princes of the neighbourhood, who had assembled to rescue the temple, presented themselves in order of battle within sight of the camp of Mahmood. The sultan, determined to prevent this attempt to raise the siege, ordered a force to keep the garrison in check, and himself advanced to give the enemy battle. The contest raged with great fury, and victory was already doubtful, when Wullubh Sen, the heir-apparent, and his chivalrous nephew, the young Bheem Dev, arriving with a strong reinforcement, inspired their countrymen with fresh courage. Mahmood, at this moment, perceiving his troops to waver, leaped from his horse, and, prostrating himself on the ground, implored the assistance of Allah; then mounting, and taking by the hand a valiant Circassian leader * by way of encouragement, he advanced on the Rajpoot lines, cheering his troops with such energy that, ashamed to abandon a king with whom they had so often

fought and bled, they with one accord rushed forwards. This furious charge was not to be withstood; the Mohummedans broke through the enemy, and five thousand Hindoos lay dead at their feet. The rout now became general—the garrison of Somnâth, beholding the royal banner of Unhilwârâ cast to the ground, abandoned the defence of the place, and issuing out at a gate towards the sea to the number of four thousand, made their escape, though not without considerable loss.

Having now placed guards round the walls and at the gates, the victorious Sultan of Ghuznee, accompanied by his sons and a few of his nobles, entered the shrine of Someshwur. He beheld a superb edifice of hewn stone, its lofty roof supported by pillars curiously carved and set with precious stones. In the adytum, to which no external light penetrated, and which was illuminated only by a lamp suspended from the centre by a golden chain, appeared the symbol of Someshwur—a stone cylinder which rose nine feet in height above the floor of the temple, and penetrated six feet in depth below it. Two fragments of this object of idolatrous worship were, at the king's order, broken off, that one might be thrown at the threshold of the public mosque, and the other at the court gate of his own palace at Ghuznee. Other fragments were reserved to grace the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. While Mahmood was thus employed, a crowd of Brahmins, petitioning his attendants, offered an enormous ransom if the king would desist from further mutilation. Mahmood hesitated, and his courtiers hastened to offer the advice which they knew would be acceptable; but after a moment's pause, the Sultan exclaimed that he would be known by posterity not as 'the idol seller,' but as '*the destroyer*.'* The work of spoliation then continued, and was rewarded by the discovery, in the vaults below the adytum, of untold treasures.

Having secured the wealth of Somnâth, Mahmood prepared to follow the brave prince, Bheem Dev, who, as the Mohummedan historians confess, had, in his unsuccessful attempt to raise the siege, cut off above three thousand of the faithful, and who, after the taking of Dev Puttun, had thrown himself into a fort called Gundaba,† at the distance of forty leagues from the despoiled shrine. The sultan on arriving at this fort

found it apparently impracticable of approach, from its being surrounded on all sides by water, which was only in one place fordable. Mahmood, however, having ordered public prayers, and having cast his fortune on the Koran,[1] availed himself of the low state of the tide to enter the water with his troops, and, reaching in safety the opposite side, immediately commenced the attack. Bheem Dev fled at the approach of the Mohummedans, and the assailants, obtaining easy possession, made dreadful havoc among the defenders of the fort. The women and children were made captive, and the spoils of Gundaba added to the treasures of Mahmood.

The Sultan, thus victorious, returned to Unhilwârâ, where it is probable that he passed the rainy season. He found the soil of that place so fertile, the air so pure and salubrious, and the country so well cultivated and pleasant, that it is said he proposed to take up his residence there for some years, and to make it his capital, conferring the government of Ghuznee upon his son, the Prince Musaood. His imagination was dazzled with stories which he had heard of the jewels of Ceylon and the mines of Pegoo, and, as he was almost childishly fond of amassing precious stones, he is said to have seriously intended to fit out a fleet for the conquest of those regions, but the more sedate counsel of his officers diverted him from his scheme, and, yielding to their advice, he consented to return to his native kingdom.

It was, probably, these misfortunes of his country, rather than the reported incestuous connection with his sister, which induced the pleasure-loving Châmoond Raja to resign the sceptre of his race. However this may be, his name no longer appears, and when the attention of Mahmood and his counsellors was turned to the discovery of an eligible person to be invested with authority as the Sultan's tributary in Goozerat, the choice appears to have lain between the two brothers Wullubh and Doorlubh Sen. The heir-apparent, it was represented, was very wise and learned, all the Brahmins having great reliance in his wisdom. He had been, it was urged, already invested with power in a particular district,

[1] 'The Mohummedans use the Koran as school-boys sometimes apply to the Sortes Virgilii.'—Col. Briggs's Note.*

and was so upright and trustworthy, that having once taken upon himself the payment of tribute he would, without fail, remit the annual payments to Ghuznee. Others contended that the government should be conferred upon Doorlubh Sen, who had been employed in studying philosophy and in mortifying the flesh—but their opponents stigmatized him as an evil-disposed person, who had fallen under the displeasure of God, and whose seclusion from the world came not of his own choice, but had been adopted with the view of saving his life, after his brothers had several times confined him for attempts upon the throne. To these arguments the Sultan replied, that had the heir-apparent presented himself to request the government he might have consented to grant it, but that he would not confer so large a territory on one who had neither done a service nor even paid a courtesy. Doorlubh Sen, 'the anchorite,' was therefore selected, and having been invested with the government of Goozerat, bound himself to the payment of a tribute—equivalent to that of Kabool and Khorasân. He petitioned the Sultan, however, to leave him some troops for his protection, asserting that Wullubh Sen would undoubtedly attack him before his authority could be thoroughly established. This consideration prevailed with the Sultan to form a design for reducing Wullubh Sen before he left the country, and that prince was in a short time seized and brought as a prisoner to Mahmood.

The Sultan having now passed upwards of a year in Goozerat began to think of directing his steps homewards, and at the request of Doorlubh Sen, he determined to carry the heir-apparent with him to Ghuznee. The route by which he had advanced was, however, occupied by the unconquered Bheem Dev, and his ally Veesul Dev, the Raja of Ujmeer. The Moslem force was by this time reduced by the casualties of war and climate, and the Sultan, instead of risking a further encounter, determined to attempt a new route by the sands to the east of Sindh. Here also he encountered deserts in his march, wherein his army suffered greatly from water, and his numerous cavalry found themselves destitute of forage ; for three days and nights the army was misled by a Hindoo guide, in a sandy desert ; many of the soldiers died raving mad

from the intolerable heat and thirst, and the guide, submitted to the torture, is said to have confessed himself to be a priest of Somnâth, who, to revenge the injuries done to the temple, had thus endeavoured to accomplish the ruin of the Moslem army. The king ordered his execution, and, it being towards evening, fell prostrate before God, imploring a speedy deliverance. A meteor, says the Mohummedan historian, was immediately seen in the north, towards which direction he shaped his course, and before morning found himself on the border of a lake or pool of water.

The conquerors of Somnâth at length reached Mooltan, and from thence returned to Ghuznee.

The account of Mahmood's expedition to Somnâth is from Brigg's *Ferishta*, the *Ayeen-i-Akbery*, Bird's *Mirat Ahmadi*, Elphinstone's *India*, &c.

Raja Châmoond (or as he is there called, Jamund) is expressly named by the authors of the *Ayeen-i-Akbery*, and *Mirat Ahmadi*, as the prince who ruled at Unhilwârâ when Mahmood of Ghuznee took possession of it. The Hindoo legends, as we have seen, make no mention of Mahmood's invasion, but they represent Châmoond to have survived his son, Wullubh Sen. There can, we think, be little danger in assuming Wullubh Sen and his brother, Doorlubh Sen, to be the two 'Dabishleems,' spoken of by the Mohummedan historians, and Bhram Dev can be no other than Bheem Dev. There is some difficulty in assigning their different parts to the two brothers, Wullubh and Doorlubh. All the accounts agree in making the short reign of Wullubh Sen to have immediately followed that of Châmoond. It would seem to be proved, by the copper-plate inscription, quoted in the note at page 65, which, in giving a list of the Kings of Unhilwârâ from Mool Râj I, to Bheem Dev II, makes no mention of Wullubh Sen's having reigned at all, that Doorlubh Sen was the prince who maintained himself on the throne. Supposing Châmoond to have resigned in favour of his heir-apparent, Wullubh Sen, and this latter to have appeared with Bheem Dev in arms against Mahmood, and at no time to have tendered his submission, all which is probable in itself, and, we think, fairly inferrible from the Mohummedan accounts, taken in connection with the few facts handed down in the Hindoo legends. Mahmood would then naturally have selected Doorlubh Sen as the more fitted person for his tributary government. Doorlubh would, no doubt, have had a party in his favour, as against his brother, even among their own countrymen, but supposing the heir-apparent to have been the prince selected by Mahmood, it seems difficult to account for his nervous apprehension of being supplanted by his brother in what the majority must have acknowledged to have been no more than his rights.

Besides, it appears to us, that the Mohummedan historians, in the whole story, point to a departure from the strict line of succession in the selection of 'Dabishleem, the Anchorite.' In this view we are compelled to reject the story of the revolution which reversed the destinies of the parties, and consigned the anchorite to a dungeon which he had himself prepared, although, as Mr. Elphinstone has remarked, 'it is by no means 'improbable in itself, and is too true a picture of the hypocritical humanity 'of a Hindoo priest in power, to have been invented by a Mahometan 'author.'

The fact mentioned to the honor of Wullubh Râj, by the author of *Rutun Málá*, his fidelity to his word, is the very point urged by Mahmood's advisers in favor of the candidate who was rejected.

There is a still greater difficulty in regard to the dates, which we will state, though we can offer no solution :—It was in A. D. 1024–5, according to the Mohummedan accounts, that Mahmood effected his conquests in Goozerat, but the Hindoo authors place the accession of Wullubh Sen (who reigned six months) and of Doorlubh Sen in A. D. 1010, and that of Bheem Dev in A. D. 1022.

[Forbes involves himself in an endless muddle by accepting Firishṭa's statement that Chāmuṇḍa was reigning at the time of Mahmūd of Ghazni's invasion. This is quite wrong. Ibn Asīr (A. D. 1160) is the earliest authority, and he states that the reigning king was Bhīma I. We can see clearly from the *Dvyāśrya* what happened. Chāmuṇḍa was anxious to abdicate, and nominated Vallabha, the *Yuvarājā*, as his successor. But Vallabha, before he could take up the reins of government, died of smallpox during an expedition against Mālwā A. D. 1010. Hence he never reigned at all. Chāmuṇḍa then nominated his second son Durlabha as Rājā. Durlabha reigned from 1010 to 1022, when he in his turn abdicated, or was forced to abdicate, in favour of Bhīma, his nephew. (For relationship, see Appendix to Chapter IV, where a genealogical tree is given). Bhīma was the hero of the invasion : he fled before the Mahommedan forces, but attacked them as soon as they started to retire. Durlabha *may* have been made governor by Mahmūd of Ghazni, but the story of 'Dābhislīm the Anchorite', and also that of the Brahmans who decoyed Mahmud into the desert, are rejected as folklore (*Gazetteer*, p. 169, *n.*). The latter legend is like the story of Zopyros (Herod. III. 154).]

CHAPTER VI

BHEEM DEV I

The transactions of the reign of Bheem Dev I (A. D. 1022–72) are given in outline by the author of *Dwyâshrây*, an authority, who though by no means free from the usual Hindoo vice of suppressing whatever is not altogether favourable to his own party, is still of value from his contiguity to the period of which he treats, and from the suggestiveness of his accounts and the means which they afford for the arrangement of materials drawn from different sources.

'Bheem Dev,' says Hemâchârya, 'ruled in a good manner, 'and refused pardon to the crime of incontinency. He apprehended thieves cleverly, and punished them, so that the 'offences of depredation diminished in his reign. He preserved 'life very exceedingly, so that even the wolf in the forest 'was restrained from taking life. Some kings who had fled 'from fear of their enemies took shelter with Bheem; some 'kings took service under his standard, thence he acquired 'the title of Raja of Rajas. The Kings of Poondra * and 'Undra sent him presents, his fame spread into Mugudh 'also; poets celebrated his exploits in verses composed in the 'Mâgudhee and other languages, from which his fame was so 'spread abroad that the inhabitants of distant countries knew 'him as if by sight.

'Once on a time it was told to Bheem, by his spies, that the 'Sindh Raja and the Raja of Chedee[1] alone on the earth 'despised his fame, and that they caused books to be composed 'in his dispraise. The Sindh Raja, it was said, also used

[1] *Chedee* has been conjectured to be the modern Chundail in Gondwana. It was the country of Shishoopâl, the enemy of Shree Krishn. [Chedi is nearly equivalent to the modern Central Provinces. Karṇadeva Kalachuri, the reigning prince (A. D. 1040–70), afterwards joined Bhīma in the war on Mālwā, and was subsequently defeated by his hereditary rival Kīrtivarman Chandella.]

'threats in regard to Bheem. The strength of this prince was 'only equalled by the ambition of his projects. He had subdued 'the Raja of Shivshân,* with many other lords of fortresses 'and princes of islands. Bheem, when he heard these things, 'sending for his ministers, began to consult them upon the 'matter. Soon he collected an army and set forth. In the 'Punjâb, which was contiguous to Sindh, five rivers flowed 'together, the volume of which rolled like a sea. It was 'owing to the strength of these floods, resembling a strong 'fortress, that the Sindh Raja slept in peace, having conquered 'his enemies. The army of Bheem, breaking down hills, with 'great stones thereof began to build a bridge which, as it pro'ceeded towards completion, forced the waters of the stream 'to divide and take another channel, as milk boils over when 'placed upon the fire. Trees, both green and dry, and earth, 'as well as stones, were used in the construction of the bridge. 'When Bheem beheld the work approaching completion he 'was pleased, and, to make all happy, he caused sugar and 'other luxuries to be distributed among his troops. Then, 'crossing the bridge, he advanced with his army into Sindh, 'the raja of which country, whose name was Hummook, 'coming to oppose him in fight, a contest ensued. The 'moon-descended Bheem fought valiantly, and, taking many 'prisoners, subjected to himself the Raja of Sindh.

'Bheem Dev next went against Chedee, subduing the rajas 'through whose territory he passed. Kurun, the Raja of 'Chedee, when he heard that Bheem was approaching, collected 'an army of hill-men and barbarians, but as he had heard 'of the fame of Bheem, and felt that he was not to be con'quered, he was unwilling to engage him and sought rather 'to come to an agreement. Meanwhile his horsemen and 'foot soldiers advanced prepared for the fight, and the royal 'drum and other warlike instruments were sounded. A servant 'of Bheem Dev's, named Dâmodhur, was, at this time, 'sent to the camp of the Raja of Chedee to offer him peace on 'his consenting to pay tribute. Dâmodhur represented that 'his master had subdued many princes, the Raja of Dushârnuv, 'the Raja of Kâshee, and others; also that the Raja of 'Gujbundh, by name Bhudr Bhut, had come from a distant

'country to signify submission; that Tunteek, the Raja of 'Teling, had thrown away his arms and paid obeisance; that 'the Raja of Uyodhya, who never before paid tribute to any 'one, had given up to Bheem the treasures which he had taken 'from the King of Gord.* Kurun Raja, after some demur, 'agreed to follow the example of the great princes he had been 'told of and make submission to Bheem, and Dâmodhur was 'sent back to the King of Unhilwârâ bearing presents from 'the Chedee prince, consisting of gold, elephants, a horse as 'swift as the wind, and other valuables, and, in addition, a gold 'litter which Kurun had taken from Bhoj, the Raja of Malwa. 'With these offerings the successful ambassador returned to 'Bheem Dev, who, assenting to the terms that had been pro-'posed, caused them to be confirmed by his ministers, and then 'marched back in triumph to Unhilwârâ. There he was joyfully 'received by the people, who had dressed themselves in 'holiday attire and adorned their city as on a festive day; for 'Bheem was a favourite of his subjects, because, in his reign, 'they suffered no calamity, being not only protected from 'secret depredators, but also from the open enemies that might 'have brought the horrors of fire and plunder to their towns.'

Such is the account given by Hemâchârya. He is borne out by other authorities in the connection which he asserts between the fortunes of Bheem and those of the celebrated Bhoj,[1] the Raja of Malwa, and of a more eastern prince, named Kurun, and his allusion to wars in the Punjâb and Sindh may have reference to the contest carried on in his time between the Hindoos and the followers of Modood, the Sultan of Ghuznee, for the expulsion of the Mohummedan from 'the 'land of virtue;' though, in this latter struggle, it has been elsewhere asserted that Bheem Dev took no share, but, on the contrary, by his refusal to do so drew upon himself the arms of the confederated Rajpoot princes. We now turn to the relations of these events afforded by other authorities.

The Purmâr King of Malwa, Shree Singhbhut, being at the

[1] [The Parmâra dynasty of Mâlwâ or Ujjain was founded c. A. D. 800 by one Krishṇarâja. Mañja, the seventh of the line, was killed by Tailapa, as narrated in footnote to p. 52. He was succeeded by his nephew Bhoja, A. D. 1018–1060. For genealogy see p. 112, n.]

time sonless, adopted a foundling, to whom, from the fact of his having discovered him in a thicket of Moonj grass, he gave the name of Moonj. Singhbhut afterwards had a son named Seedhul. At the close of his life Singhbut announced to Moonj his intention of making him his successor, and, at the same time, informed him of the facts which attended his birth and adoption, urging him to live in affection with his brother Seedhul.

Moonj having succeeded to the throne, with the aid of his wise minister, Roodrâditya, increased his territories, but exhibited a cruel spirit, putting to death his wife who had been cognizant of the last instructions of Singhbhut and the secret of his birth, and expelling from Malwa Seedhul the legitimate heir to the throne. This prince appears to have given Moonj provocation by turbulence of spirit and by refusing obedience. He retired for a time to Goozerat and lived at Kâsahrud (probably Kâsindra Pâlaree, about fourteen miles from Ahmedabad) where he founded a village. Seedhul, however, subsequently returned to Malwa, and was favourably received by Moonj, who assigned to him an allotment of territory; but this agreement did not long continue, and Moonj subsequently seized upon Seedhul and imprisoned him, putting out his eyes.

The celebrated Bhoj was the son of Seedhul. He became in his youth skilful in martial exercises as well as learned in the shâstras, but the astrologers drew upon him the anger of Moonj Raja by a too flattering horoscope, which predicted as follows :—

'For fifty years and five, for six months and three days
'Bhoj Raja shall enjoy the Dekkan with Goud.'

The king, fearing that the accession of Bhoj should exclude his own son from the throne, determined to put him to death. Those who were employed for this purpose, however, failed in its execution, being won over by the beauty and virtues of Bhoj. When the king demanded of them an account of their commission, they intimated to him that it had been completed, placing at the same time in his hands a paper with which they had been charged by Bhoj. It ran thus :—

'King Mândhâtâ, the ornament of the Golden Age, has
'perished; where is he who bridged the mighty ocean—the

'destroyer of the ten-handed Râwun? Yoodishteer also, and 'other great princes have all of them set, but not with any 'one of them has the earth passed away. I suppose with you 'it will pass.'

Moonj on reading this verse was struck with remorse, and wept many tears, reproaching himself with the slaughter of the boy. He was then informed that the life of Bhoj had not been sacrificed, and, delighted with the intelligence, he sent for the young prince and caused him to be installed as 'Yoov Râj,' or heir-apparent. Moonj, according to tradition, signalized his penitence by performing a pilgrimage to the country lying on the east of the lesser Runn of Kutch, which is called by the Brahmins, Dhurum Arunya, where he founded a town which is still called Moonjpoor.

The king now prepared for an expedition against Teilip Dev, Raja of Telingânâ.[1] He was in vain dissuaded by his minister, Roodrâditya, who reminded him of former disasters sustained in similar attempts, and repeated to him an old prophecy, which predicted destruction to the King of Malwa who should pass the Godâvery. His remonstrances being disregarded, Roodrâditya, full of melancholy presentiments, retired from his employments, and soon after entered the funeral fire. Moonj Raja obstinately sought his fate, and having engaged the army of Teilip Dev, was defeated and made prisoner. He might even then have effected his escape by means arranged by his minister, but, having confided the secret to Mrinâlwutee, the sister of Teilip Dev, with whom he had formed a connection while in confinement, he was betrayed by her. Moonj was now subjected to the most ignominious treatment, and at last carried to the place where the lowest criminals were executed, and there beheaded, his head being set upon a stake near the palace of Teilip Raja to be destroyed by carrion birds.

Moonj Raja is said to have written a geographical description of the world, which was afterwards corrected and improved by Raja Bhoj.[2] His patronage of literature seems to have been the most conspicuous point in his character, as is evidenced by the remarks made on his death :—'When Moonj, the accumu-'lation of good qualities, perished, wealth departed to the

[1] See foot-note at page 52.

[2] Vide *As. Res.*, ix, p. 176.

'presence of Shree Krishn (the husband of Lukshmee the god-
'dess of wealth), valour to the house of Shree Veer, but
'Suruswutee (the goddess of literature) was left without
'support.'

Moonj was succeeded by Shree Bhoj Raja, who was a contemporary of the Solunkhee Bheem Dev I. of Unhilwárá. In Bhoj the chroniclers have met with a king who entirely filled their interested outline of the duties of a sovereign. He is represented to have continually reflected upon the facts that fortune is unstable, and life as transitory as a wave, and to have practically deduced from these meditations the necessity of giving to all comers. Beggars, players, Brahmins, thieves, who had penetrated into his palace for the purpose of robbing him, were the equally welcome recipients of the generosity of Shree Bhoj. The ministers who sought to restrain his profusion were dismissed, and Bhoj delighted himself with the idea that he had surpassed Bulee Raja, Kurun, or Vikrumáditya, and had given such gifts as before had been given by none. His extravagance, however, seems to have been its own cure, for having met with a poet who as fast as he was recompensed for one brilliant eulogе composed another of still exceeding sublimity, Bhoj Raja was at length forced to allow himself fairly conquered ; and, as his last resource for maintaining an equality with his too devoted admirer, was compelled to enjoin upon him *silence*.

Bheem Dev appears to have sent ambassadors, called *Sándhee Vigraheek*, or makers of war and peace, to seek the alliance of Bhoj, but the negotiation had no better effect than the exchange between the rival sovereigns of verses more highly seasoned than courteous, and though Bhoj might have been supposed to have been more fitted for such a contest than the active warrior of Unhilwárá, Bheem Dev must be admitted on the whole to have maintained a decided advantage.

Once on a time, a scarcity having arisen in Malwa, Bhoj Raja prepared to invade Goozerat, but he was diverted from his purpose by Bheem Dev's ambassador, Dámur (the Dámodhur we suppose of Hemácharya), who contrived to resuscitate the ancient feud with Teilip, Raja of Telingáná, and this prince preparing to invade Malwa, Bhoj was glad to make peace

with Bheem Dev on his own terms. Freed from anxiety on these points, Bhoj Raja employed himself in founding or restoring the city of *Dhârâ Nugger*, since commonly known as Dhâr.

Subsequently, when Bheem Dev was employed in an expedition against Sindh (probably that to which allusion has already been made), Bhoj Raja seized the opportunity to attack Goozerat. His forces were led by an adventurer named Koolchunder, who had promised to fulfil the prophecy recorded in his sovereign's horoscope by making him master of the Dekkan and Goud. Koolchunder penetrated to Unhilpoor in the absence of its sovereign, and, having sacked the city, sowed shell-money at the gate of the palace, and at that where the gong was sounded, and extorted a *jye-puttra* or deed of victory, with which he returned to Malwa. Bhoj received him with honor, but blamed him for sowing shell-money among the ruins instead of salt, adding that he had produced an omen which portended that the treasures of Malwa should, at a future time, be carried to Goozerat. The prediction was, as we shall see, fulfilled in the time of Yushowurm, a descendant of Bhoj.

Bheem Dev is said to have paid a secret visit to the court of Bhoj, disguising himself as one of the suite of the ambassador Dâmur, but no result appears to have followed the adventure. At another time Bhoj, while worshipping at the temple of the goddess of his race, near the gate of the city of Dhâr, was nearly surprised and made prisoner by a party of Goozerat horse who had ventured so far into his territory. The two princes appear, indeed, to have been hostilely opposed to each other throughout their reigns.

One of the most superb of the marble shrines of the Jain religion which adorn the 'Dailwârâ,' or region of temples on the table-land of Mount Aboo, is that which, as its inscription shows, was erected in A. D. 1032, by Veemul Shâ.[1] As tradition asserts, the ground was formerly occupied by shrines of Shiva and Vishnoo, but the Shâ giving this the preference to any other site upon Mount Aboo, and calling in the aid of

[1] [For the temples at Mount Ābū, see V. A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (1911), p. 32, Plates vi, vii.]

Lukshmee to gain a triumph for his faith, offered to cover with silver coin as much ground as he required for the sacred edifice which he contemplated erecting. His offer was accepted ; and the orthodox divinities were now for the first time on this their sacred ground supplanted by Adeenâth. The prince who then held the towers of Uchuleshwur was Dhundoo Râj Purmâr, descended through Kânhur Dev from the warrior who had issued from the pit of fire. The capital of Dhundoo Râj was Chundrâwutee-poor, the ruins of which still remain. His ancestors, as we have seen, acknowledged the supremacy of the kings of Unhilwârâ, but Dhundoo Râj, as is stated in the inscription, had quitted the service of King Bheem Dev, and allied himself with Bhoj. The Sovereign of Goozerat had thereupon sent Veemul Shâ to exercise the office of his *Dund-putee* or vice-gerent at Aboo, and it was while he was thus employed that the Goddess Umbâ Bhuwânee appeared to the Shâ in the night time, and ordered him to erect a temple to the Yoogâdee Nâth.*

It was the same Veemul Shâ who also erected the temples at Koombhâreea on the hill of Arâsoor near the celebrated shrine of Umbâ Bhuwânee. They are similar in construction and in magnificence to the temple of Dailwârâ, with which they are supposed to be connected by a subterranean passage. The traditions relating to them will hereafter be narrated.

At this time a raja, named Kurun, reigned in Dâhul land, the modern Tipera,† and over the sacred city of Kâshee, or Benares. He was the son of Queen Demut, distinguished for her religious observances, who lost her life in giving him birth. Being born under a good star, this king extended his territory towards all four points of the compass. One hundred and thirty-six kings worshipped the lotus feet of Kurun.

Envious of the fame of the lord of Oojein, Kurun prepared to attack Bhoj, and, in that view, arranged an interview with Bheem Dev at a frontier village, and procured from him a promise that he would make a diversion by attacking Malwa from the west. Bhoj Raja, assailed by the two kings and unable from indisposition to take the field against them, contented himself with occupying by his troops the mountain passes leading into his country. Dâmur was at this time employed by

his sovereign as his representative in the camp of Raja Kurun. Bheem Dev having dispatched a messenger to Dâmur for intelligence, the ambassador taught him a verse which he repeated on his return to the King of Goozerat :—

'The fruit on the mango tree is fully ripened, the stalk has 'become loosened, with much wind the bough shakes, the end 'I know not.' [1]

When Bheem Dev heard this verse he determined upon remaining inactive.

Bhoj Raja finding that he must journey to another world performed the religious duties suitable to that state, and dividing the management of his kingdom among his servants, gave them orders to place him in his funeral car with his hands extended beyond it to denote that he carried nothing with him. He then attained Paradise.

Having been informed of the death of Bhoj, Kurun Raja advanced upon Dhâr, which he destroyed, taking possession of the royal treasury. Dâmur, on the part of Bheem Dev, now laid claim to a share of the spoils, and it was arranged that the revenues of the temples of Malwa should be the property of the King of Goozerat.

The attention of the successors of Sultan Mahmood was for many years occupied with intestine feuds, which prevented their active interference with the affairs of India ; and thirteen years after his death, his grandson, the Sultan Modood, being then upon the throne, the Hindoos found an opportunity of making a grand effort to shake off the yoke which oppressed them. In the year A. D. 1043, according to Ferishta, the Raja of Delhi, in conjunction with other Hindoo sovereigns, retook Hânsee, Tâhnesur, and their dependencies from the governors to whom Modood had entrusted them. From thence the Rajpoots marched towards the fort of Nuggurkot, which, after a siege of four months, the garrison, distressed for provisions and despairing of succour, was compelled to surrender. The God of Nuggurkot was induced to grace with his presence the recovered shrine, and so great was the enthusiasm encited by this triumph of their religion, that thousands of pilgrims hurried

[1] See the Bhow's note before the battle of Paniput. *As. Res.*, iii, 155. 'The cup is now full to the brim and cannot hold another drop.'

thither from all parts of Hindoostan to present their offerings of gold and silver and jewels, and to restore to its pristine splendour the temple of the fort of Bheem.

This success gave such confidence to the Rajpoot chiefs, that though before this time, as the Moslem historian asserts, they, like foxes, durst hardly creep out of their holes for fear of the Mohummedan arms, yet now they put on the aspect of lions, and openly set their masters at defiance. Three rajas, with ten thousand horse and an innumerable army of foot, invested Lahore. For seven months the Mohummedans exerted themselves to the utmost, defending, street by street, the ruined town, until at last finding themselves on the point of being overpowered, they bound themselves by an oath to victory or martyrdom, and sallying out in order compelled their enemies to retire.

It was Veesul Dev, the Chohân King of Ujmeer, who, according to Hindoo authorities, headed this confederacy. The King of Unhilwârâ was, it is said, invited with the other princes of the land to join in this last united stand for the religion and liberties of the Hindoos, but though in former days, when the destroyer of Somnâth was at the threshold, Bheem Dev had combined with the Lord of Sâmbhur against the common enemy, the ancient jealousies between their houses prevented him from following where the Chohân sovereign led, and the forces of Goozerat were inactive, while Veesul Dev led his troops from triumph to triumph, and won for himself the right of inscribing on his monumental pillar the proud boast, that he had made 'the Land of Virtue' once more what its name implied by the extermination of the barbarians.[1]

The conduct of Bheem Dev involved his kingdom in a war with the successful confederates, which, together with other incidents in the story of the sovereign of Ujmeer, forms the subject of one of the sixty-nine books of the poem of the *Bhârot Chund*, which we now propose to introduce to our readers.

'The sages,' says the Rajpoot bard, 'produced at Aboo,

[1] Vide *As. Res.*, vii, p. 180. [For Visala Deva's inscription, dated Samvat 1220 = A. D. 1153, see Prinsep's *Essays* (ed. Thomas, 1858), vol. i, p. 325; and Cunningham, *Archaeol. Survey Rep.* (1871), vol. i, p. 156.]

'from the fire-pit, a man to whom they entrusted royalty. 'Of his race sprung a great and religious king, named Bâlun.[1] 'His son was Veesul Dev. It was Friday, the first day of 'the month, the light half of the month, the month Wyeshâk, 'when Veesul mounted the throne. The thirty-six races 'assembled—the regenerate ones and the bards; Veesul was 'presented with the royal umbrella; he received the mark of 'sovereignty on his forehead; the Brahmins repeated Veds 'and verses of power.

'When the umbrella was placed over the head of Veesul, 'the Brahmins prepared the pit of fire sacrifice, placing therein 'five arrows. The smoke issued—the flame burst forth; the 'Brahmins, repeating charms, performed his enthronement, 'giving him their blessing; the assembly cried, "Be victorious, 'be victorious! Veesul, earth-protector!"

'Veesul enjoyed as happy a state as that of Indra; he 'restored justice and fame. In Ujmeer-nugger dwelling—his 'enemies subduing—Veesul reigned a pure reign. Many 'mighty cities he took; in his reign the world seemed to be 'covered by one umbrella.

'He adorned the city as if it had been adorned by the 'architect of the gods. Abandoning irreligion, he caused 'religion to flourish; sinful deeds he sought not to perform. 'He exacted only his rights—without right he indulged not 'his avarice; the four castes were subservient to the Chohân; 'the thirty-six races served him.[2] Veesul Raja, the religious, 'was resplendent as a Dev upon the earth.

'Once on a time, Veesul the king hunted deer in the forest. 'Seeing a place well adapted for the purpose, the desire of 'constructing a tank arose in his mind. He examined the 'good place, where the streams flowed from the mountains, 'where the forest was good. He sent for his principal minis-

[1] This is the Beer Beelum Dev of Colonel Tod, who defended the Gurh Beetli, or hill-fortress of Ujmeer, against Mahmood of Guznee. On the pillar of Feeroz Shah, vide *As. Res.*, vii, p. 180, his name is written 'Vella Deva,' or Vel Dev, the V and B being synonymous. Thus Veesul Dev is commonly called Beesul Dev.

[2] The *four castes* are the Brahmins, Kshutrees, Vaishyas, and Shoodras. The thirty-six races are the Rajpoot tribes. *Vide* Conclusion.

'ter; "Cause a reservoir to be made here: such as that of 'Pooshkur."* Having given this order, he returned home; 'joy without limit arose in his mind. Upon a throne he sat 'like Yoodishteer, the son of Dhurum, did Veesul, the Indra 'of the world of men. Over his head an umbrella, on each 'side horse-hair † fans waving, he was very beautiful to the 'sight,—like Ushweenee Koomâr. The thirty-six races then 'assembled—the Putâsurs, the Toonwurs valiant. The king 'called them into his presence; he presented them with betel-'nut. The minstrels in their verses celebrated his praise; 'the king, smiling, bent his head; the assembly shone like a 'constellation; the Chohân in the midst like a moon. With 'compliments he dismissed them all. As they retired, the 'bards pronounced a blessing. When a watch of the night 'had passed, the raja retired within the palace. Camphor, 'sandal, musk, and other perfumes scented the place. It was 'redolent of precious essences which had been strewed upon 'it. An apartment well colored, fit to inspire pleasure, 'received the raja. He sent for actors, for singers, and other 'amusements. He enjoyed the society of the Purmâr's 'daughter, the favorite queen, who in beauty and youth 'resembled an Upsura, who was dear to him as his life, 'whom he forgot not for one moment. No other fair one did 'he ever look upon.'

The Purmar queen gave birth to a son named Sârung Dev, who was sent, on attaining a sufficient age, under the care of the Kâyuth Keerpâl, to the town of Sâmbhur, the favourite of Sâkumbhuree Devee, which was assigned for his residence. A suitable bride was soon provided for him—'The daughter 'of Râwur Dev Râj, Gouree by name, shone by the side of 'Sârung Dev, as Rutee beside Kâm.'[1]

Under these happy auspices the reign of Veesul commenced; but his prosperity was afterwards more clouded, and the chronicler represents him as driven from his throne, apparently owing to the jealousy created in the minds of his other wives and their kindred by his exclusive preference of the 'daughter 'of the Purmâr.' By the aid of Shiva, however, Veesul regained his power, which he seems thereafter to have used in

[1] The Cupid and Psyche of the Hindoos.

so tyrannical a manner, particularly by giving himself up to an unbridled lust, that his subjects, in despair, threatened to retire in a body from the country.

'The inhabitants of the city thronged together to the house 'of the minister. "Calamity falls upon all, both men and 'women—we will not remain here—we will depart in anger." 'The minister soothed the enraged people, and, in conjunction 'with the council of their head men and the wives of the raja, 'approached Veesul. "To protect the land," said they, 'a 'prince should travel about it. On the earth there are many 'rajas; a great sovereign should attack and subdue their 'cities and territories to destroy such thorns." The raja un-'derstood the object of what they had said: 'The flame which 'has been excited in me singes you. Well, I will do what 'you have urged; I will send for Keerpâl, and to whatever 'countries you may think fit to go, I will mount and accom-'pany you.' He gave the order to all the ministers and sent 'for Keerpâl. From Sâmbhur he came to the city of Ujmeer. 'On his arrival he touched the feet of the king; he placed a 'sword before him as an offering. The hilt and the scab-'bard were studded with jewels. The raja bound it on his 'loins; the skilful in vaticination pronounced the omen to 'be good. The raja said, "As this omen has been granted to 'me, I will draw my sword in all the nine divisions of the 'earth, the whole world I will subdue; I will make tributary 'rajas, be they as firm as Meroo. Hear, O Keerpâl, my 'speech. Providing treasure, prepare to accompany me—at 'the Veesul Surowur pitch our tents." To the ten direc-'tions he sent summonses: "Let all come and meet me at 'Ujmeer." Muhunsee Pureehâr came and joined his standard, 'the chief of Mundowur touched his feet, all the Gahilots 'came, crowning the assembly. Râm Gour, the Toonwur, 'Pâwâ's * lord, Muhesh the lord of Mewar, the Mohil of 'Doonâpoor[1] came with his followers, the Buloch too brought 'his infantry, the King of Sindh flying went to Sindh, the 'King of Bhutner sent presents, the chiefs of the country as 'far as Mooltan hastened to join him. The order went to

[1] The Mohils are a branch of the Chohâns descended from Manik Rae. —Tod's *Rajasthan*, ii, 1449. *Vide* this passage *idem*, ii, 1454.

'Jesulmer, all the Bhoomeeâs great were submissive; the 'Yâduv, the Wâghela, the Moree, the great Goojur, re-'sponded to his call. From Unturved came the Koorumbh. 'All the Mairs submissively touched his feet. Jeyt Singh, 'obeying the order, set forth; the chief of Tuchitpoor he 'brought with him. Many Purmârs mounted; the Dors came 'to follow him; the Chundails, the Dâheemas, worshipped 'him. Shaking his sword he made all the Bhoomeeâs sub-'missive. No Solunkhee came to pay obeisance, they stood 'aloof, sternly grasping the sword. Perceiving this, Jeyt-'shee, the Golwâl, spoke: "Leaving a force at Ujmeer to 'protect our homes and city, let us advance—the Châlook 'cannot escape.' Stage by stage advanced the warriors, by 'the way of the mountains the raja advanced to strike his 'first blow at the Solunkhee. Many forts he levelled with the 'earth. He took Jhâlor and destroyed its castle; to the moun-'tains and the forest the enemy retreated. Ascending Aboo 'he beheld Uchuleshwur; Wâgur he subdued; Soreth, the 'land of Girnâr, he found tribute and salutations—he found 'no battle.

'In Goozerat—land of the seventy towns, was the Châ-'look Row, Bâlook the warrior. Hearing the news, Bâlook 'mounted and came, he worshipped Shiva and Doorgâ, his 'spear he took upon his shoulder. With him he had thirty 'thousand horsemen, seventy elephants streaming with honey; 'at a league's distance he made a halt. The Chohân heard 'the noise—heard the noise, did Veesul the King, of the Châ-'look Row's advance. Calling for a charger, he mounted; he 'caused the royal drum to sound; setting his army in array, 'he moved onward; the sound of his approach reached the 'camp of the enemy. With seventy thousand soldiers he 'came on; it seemed as if the crickets in some rainy season 'raised their humming noise; shields glanced, spears glit-'tered; the warrior was full of joy, the coward full of sorrow. 'Destroying the lands of the Châlook, on rolled the army as 'a rolling tide of the ocean; cities, towns, and villages, all 'that came in their way, they plundered.

'The Châlook heard the news. Angrily at once he started 'up, as when a flame starts up without smoke. Bâlook Râee,

'the Châlook warrior, calling for water, laved his body; he 'drank a handful of water which had washed the feet of 'Vishnoo. Huree he placed on his throat. "To-day I go forth 'to conquer or to meet fate. If I fly, may dishonour fall 'on my race. In all this land is there no warrior, that this 'Veesul has advanced without being debarred by weapons?'

'Shreekunt, the bard, was sent to the enemy; he met Veesul 'Dev Chohân; raising his hands he pronounced a benediction; 'he informed him of the movements of Bâlook Râee. "When 'it is with kings that you should have to do, why have you to 'do with subjects? You have done ill injuring them, no 'Hindoo prince would thus act; cease to molest the subjects 'and return home—to Ujmeer depart and there reign. The 'Bâlook Raja has said, 'I am of the Bruhm race, it is my 'occupation to carry on war, to fly were great grief to me, 'but the day of my death is a day of holiday. The chiefs 'that are around me are of noble race. We will never retreat 'from before you; turn back, then, and abandon war— 'let us not meet on the field of battle.'" When the Chohân 'received this message he at once gave orders for sounding the 'royal drum. Armour they placed on horses and on elephants, 'the warriors assumed their armour. The two armies ap'proached within sight of each other—they seemed like billows 'of the ocean bending their crests. The Chohân formed a 'phalanx. "Let us see whether the Bâlook Râee is an Ubhee'mânya[1] that he may break it. What destiny has determined 'will come to pass."

'The two armies met; the warriors called to their friends: '"Brother, brother, strike, strike!" They fought and wounded 'each other. The Châlook's army gave back; the Bâlook Râee 'came to their assistance. He shook the phalanx. The Puree'hâr and Gahilot turned their backs, the Pureehâr fled to the 'position of the Toonwur; the phalanx was broken and col'lapsed. At that time the Khundhâr and Buloch advanced 'against Bâlook boldly, nothing regarding. The warriors' sur-

[1] A phalanx of a peculiar form, called 'Chukravyooh,' is described in the Muhâbhârut, as having been formed by the Kouruv army. Ubheemânya, the son of Urjoon, broke through six ranks of it and was slain in front of the seventh.

'coats were stained red, as if they played together at the 'Hoolee[1]; they were bathed in gore. The elephants, streaming with blood, shewed as brilliantly as pulâsh[2] trees covered 'with scarlet flowers in the spring. Bâlook and Veesul, the 'king of men, perceived each other. It was as if the moon 'grew dim from being opposed to the sun. The Châlook rode 'on horseback, the Chohân was seated on an elephant; the two 'rajas fought a terrible fight, they crossed weapons with each 'other, when to the teeth of the elephant Bâlook urged on his 'steed. Night at last separated the warriors; returning each to 'his own tent, they bestowed attention on the wounded.

'The next morning the ministers of the Châlook came together. Without the knowledge of their sovereign they sent 'a message to the Chohân. Pâwâ's lord hearing this went to 'the raja. Keerpâl was sent for. The Châlook's ministers 'came to meet them. "Whatever property you may demand 'we will place it at your feet." The King replied: "Listen, I 'will leave a post here, in a month's time I will build a city— 'assent to this and bring your offering." Thus were the terms 'arranged. The Chohân gained the field—the Châlook was 'wounded. Veesul returned home again when he had founded 'Veesulnugger.'[3]

The bard having carried Veesul back to Ujmeer, relates how that raja, returning to the course from which he had been reclaimed for a time, at last suffered the penalty of his vices, by the curse of a female devotee whose chastity he had violated, and, losing his human form, became an 'Usoor' or 'Dânuv,' an 'eater of the flesh of men.' The common belief, however, was that he had perished by the bite of a snake. The Purmâr Rânee burned herself with the corpse of her lord.

The first act of Sârung Dev, Veesul's successor, was to place

[1] The Hindoo Saturnalia, in the course of which the revellers sprinkle each other with red water.

[2] The 'pulâsh' is a tree which bears red blossoms—the '*Butea frondosa.*' [The *palâśa* tree is also known as *dhâk*.]

[3] Colonel Tod, *Western India*, p. 172, mentions that one stipulation of this treaty was that the Châlook should give a daughter in marriage to Veesul Dev. He also mentions, quoting the *Hamir Rasa*, a work relating the exploits of a Chohân prince of that name, that Veesul Dev took Prince Kurun, son of Raja Bheem, prisoner.*

his wife, who was then pregnant, in security at Rintumbor, the inaccessible fortress which was the seat of her own family. He next turned his attention to the destruction of the Dânuv, who had taken up his abode at Ujmeer, and, in his fury and voracity, had rendered the place a desert, but he not only was unsuccessful in this, but himself fell a victim to the monster.

Âno, the son of Sârung Dev and Gouree, was more successful. He adopted, however, an opposite course to that pursued by his father, and instead of attempting to oppose the Dânuv in arms he submitted himself to him and entreated his protection. The demon was pleased with his humility, and having promised that Âno's race, from father to son, should reign in Ujmeer, he rose into the sky and proceeded to Nigumbodh, on the Jumna, where he remained performing penances for three hundred and eighty years, until the time that Unung Pâl Toonwur founded Delhi. From the fragments of his body, as Chund relates, sprung the Sâmunts or Paladins of Prutheerâj (of whom hereafter), and the poet claims for himself an origin from the tongue of the Dânuv. Âno was succeeded by his son, Jesingh Dev, whose son and successor, Ânund Dev, was the father of Someshwur, the opponent of Bheem Dev II., and father of Prutheerâj.

Bheem Dev I. married Oodayâmutee, by whom he had a son named Kurun. This queen caused to be constructed at Unhilwârâ a well, which alone of all the monuments of the race of Wun Raja still exists, though in a ruined state. It is known as the Rânee's well. Bheem Dev had also two other sons, named Mool Râj and Kshem Râj, both of whom were, it would appear, born before Kurun. The name of Mool Râj's mother has not been handed down, that of the mother of Kshem Râj was Bukoolâ Devee, who was probably a concubine and of low origin. The author of *Prubundh Chintâmunee* calls her a courtezan, and says she was purchased as a slave by Bheem Dev. Kshem Râj is sometimes described as Hureepâl Dev, a name which he probably acquired as a worshipper of Vishnoo after his retirement into the position of an ascetic.

The same Âchârya tells the following story of the prince Mool Râj, which is curious as giving us a glance at the revenue arrangements of the period of Bheem Dev I., and also

proving to us that the cultivator of Goozerat was then in character much what he is now in regard to his stubbornness when assailed with demands, as well as his sensibility to kindness. 'Once on a time, in a year when the rains had failed 'in Goozerat, the householders (Koutoombeeks) of the grâms, 'or small villages, of Dundâhee and Vishopuk, were unable to 'supply to the king his usual share of the produce. A 'minister (muntree, the mehta of modern days,) who was sent 'to make enquiry, brought all the people whom he found pos-'sessed of property to the capital, and presented them to 'Bheem. One morning, the prince Mool Râj, who was cele-'brated for his truthfulness and fidelity to his promises, was 'walking about in that place attended by a servant of the 'king's. When he perceived all these persons, alarmed, talk-'ing among themselves, having informed himself of their case 'through the attendant who was with him, he compassionated 'them with tears in his eyes. Soon after, having pleased the 'king much by his skill in horsemanship, he was commanded 'to ask a boon. Mool Râj begged that the householders 'might have their rent remitted to them. The king, with 'tears of joy in his eyes, both granted what he had asked and 'pressed him to seek a further boon for himself.

'The people, on being released from confinement, came to 'touch his feet. Some of them remained to attend him con-'tinually; the rest, returning home, spread his praises far and 'wide.

'Shortly afterwards, that merciful spirit of his gained Mool 'Râj admission to the delights of Paradise. The King and his 'court, as well as the people who had been released at his 'intercession, were immersed in the ocean of grief for his loss 'By slow degrees the learned, by the power of the wisdom 'they taught, depressed the trunk of this elephant-like sorrow. 'The next year the husbandmen, delighted with an abundant 'fall of rain, having obtained a plentiful crop of all kinds of 'grain, came to present to the king his share both for the past 'and the present year. Bheem Dev refused to receive the 'arrears, but at the solicitation of the husbandmen, agreed at 'last to nominate, in conjunction with themselves, a jury who 'should arrange the matter to mutual satisfaction. The

'assessors decreed that the royal share of the produce for 'both years should be placed in the king's hands for the erec- 'tion of a temple, called the Treepooroosh Prâsâd, for the 'happiness of Prince Mool Râj.'

At the close of his reign, as the author of *Dwyâshrây* records, Bheem Dev, following the example of Mool Râj, the first of the Solunkhees and others of his ancestors, proposed to retire to perform penances for the attainment of Paradise, leaving his throne to Kshem Râj, his eldest son. Kshem Râj, however, refused the proffered dignity, and said, 'I will not 'separate myself from you, but will accompany you to your 'place of retirement.' After some discussion, Bheem Dev and Kshem Râj jointly placed Kurun on the throne, and retired, and not long afterwards Bheem became an inhabitant of Swerga.

Afflicted at his separation from his father, Kshem Râj withdrew to a pure place, called Moondeekeshwur, on the banks of the Suruswutee, no great distance from the village of Dudheesthul or Deythulee, which village Kurun Raja granted to the Prince Dev Prusâd, the son of Kshem Râj, that he might attend upon his father in his religious seclusion.

CHAPTER VII

RAJA KURUN SOLUNKHEE—REGENCY OF MYENUL DEVEE —SIDH RÂJ

Goozerat, during the reign of Raja Kurun (A. D. 1072 to 1094), enjoyed an exemption from foreign wars. It is said, that that prince continued the tributary expeditions, which his predecessors had already set on foot, into countries which owned his supremacy, but no mention is made of his having been engaged in a contest with any of the surrounding potentates. Kurun appears, however, to have availed himself of the opportunity which was thus afforded him for consolidating the strength of his kingdom by reducing the wild and inaccessible parts of the country, called the 'Mewâs.'

It is commonly believed that Goozerat was occupied from a remote period by rude tribes, the descendants of whom still exist, who bore a general resemblance to each other, but of the nature of whose religion or government little has been even traditionally handed down. According to Bishop Heber, they were unquestionably the original inhabitants of central and western India, and were driven to their fastnesses and desperate and miserable way of life by the invasion of those tribes, wherever they may have come from, who profess the Brahminical religion. 'This, the Rajpoots themselves virtually allow by admitting, in their traditional history, that most of their principal cities and fortresses were founded by such and such Bheel chiefs, and conquered from them by the children of the sun.' One branch of them sprung, as the bards relate, from an ancestor named Bheel or Kaiyo, who was produced from the body of Venoo, a descendant of Ootânpât, who died under the curse of a sage. Kaiyo enjoyed the royalty of the forests around Aboo, and left a son, named Ujânbâhoo, who ruled over the same territory, and was very powerful. From him came Goho, whose occupation was that of a ferryman, and at whose house Râm rested when he first left

Uyodhya. From Goho descended all the Bheels, who are, however, subdivided into ten branches.

The tribe of Kaiyos are spoken of in the *Muhâbhârut* as resident in Goozerat. When the Pânduvs took refuge with Vyerât Raja at Mutsyu-nugger or Vyerât-poor, which is believed to have occupied the site of the present town of Dholka, they found there a queen of the Kaiyo race, named Soodeeshnâ, whose brother, Keechuk Kaiyo, was slain by Bheem Sen for an attempt upon the chastity of Droupudee. This Kaiyo is represented as having lately returned conquering with his tribe in all the wars, and as having wasted the Treegurtt * country belonging to Raja Dooryodhun, or his friend Sooshurmâ.

A similar fabulous descent is given to the Koolees from Youwunâshwa, the father of Mândhâtâ Raja. Their ancestor, Koolee, was brought up by a sage in the forest, and always led a jungle life, whence it happened, as the bard says, that his descendants, though in the towns they are of little importance, are *lions in the jungle*. The Koolees lived for a long time on the sea-shore, in the neighbourhood of the Indus, but they were removed to the country about the Null by the Goddess Hinglâz, and brought with them the earth-nut called 'beerd,' which even in famine does not fail. They were called, at this time, Mairs, as well as Koolees, and Sonung Mair was their leader. He left twelve sons, each of whom became the head of a clan. Nurwân, the eldest, established himself at Null Bowlee, where Hinglâz Devee took up her residence in a temple erected to her honor. This building has disappeared, but its situation is still pointed out on an island in the Null, the ford to which is now called Hinglâz Âra.[1] The second son, Dhun Mair, or Dhând, founded Dhundhooka, which was long held by his descendants, and became so powerful as to assume the title of raja. 'Fifteen thousand were his foot-'soldiers, eighteen thousand were his horsemen, eight elephants 'shook their heads at the castle of Dhând.' The other brothers had each a village. In these times, says the bard, there was not so great a population in Goozerat, but there was much forest, and the Bheels and Koolees lived in security. They were

[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. v, p. 113.

doubtless then, as now, hereditary and professional plunderers, 'soldiers of the night,' as they describe themselves. Raja Kurun Solunkhee is the first ruler of Goozerat, on record, who devoted his attention to putting a curb upon these wild tribes,—a task which has engaged the solicitude, more or less, of all his successors down to the present time.

The predatory tribes have always had some of their principal haunts in the country which stretches from the eastern side of the lesser Runn of Kutch to the river Sâbhermutee. Kurun Raja is said to have attacked a Bheel chieftain, named Âshâ, who lived at Âshâpullee, now Âshâwul, near the city of Ahmedabad, and led an innumerable force of bowmen. The Bheel was defeated and slain by Kurun, who, in consequence of a good omen which had occurred to him, built in the same place a temple to a Devee, called Kochuruv, a name which is still preserved in that of a locality on the banks of the river immediately contiguous to Ahmedabad. Merootoong (the author of *Prubundh Chintâmunee*) goes on to say, that the king founded in the same place a temple to Jyeuntee Devee, the two temples of Kuruneshwur and Kurun Meroo Prâsâd, to his patron god, and a reservoir, called Kurun Sâgur, or the sea of Kurun, and also that he built a town, called Kurunâwutee, and made it his residence.

The situation of Kurunâwutee [1] cannot be decisively ascertained, but there can be no doubt as to the proper position to be assigned to the magnificent reservoir, the Kurun Sâgur. Near the town of Modheyra, not many miles to the south of

[1] The probability is that Kurun's city stood on the site of that of his Moslem successor, Shah Ahmed. The names of Kochuruv and Âshâwul point to this site, and there can be no question that an old Hindoo city existed in the position now occupied by Ahmedabad. Mohummedan story associates the names of Âshâ Bheel and Âshâwul with Shah Ahmed, adapting, probably, the older tradition relating to Raja Kurun. Ahmedabad is mentioned under the name of 'Shree-Nugger' in modern Hindoo and Jain writings and inscriptions. Thus the situation of the well called 'Dâdâ Huree's,' near Ahmedabad, which was built by Bâee Hureer, a lady of the household of Mahmood Begurra in A. D. 1500, is described in the inscription on it as 'in Hureerpoor, on the north-east of *Shree Nugger*.' We shall see the name of Shree Nugger occurring in the annals of the reign of Sidh Râj. Shree Nugger, it is true, may be only an epithet—it means 'the illustrious city.'

Unhilwârâ Puttun, is a village still called 'Kunsâgur,' in the lands of which are the remains of an immense reservoir known in the surrounding villages as 'the ten miles tank,' and which local tradition still attributes to 'the father of Sidh Râj, the Goodman Kun.' The design was worthy of a monarch, and may be clearly traced, though but little now remains of the structure itself. The river Roopeyn, flowing down from the hills beyond Kherâloo, was here arrested in its course towards the Runn, and compelled to relinquish its natural outlet and to empty its waters into the sea of Kurun. Nor could the execution have been unequal to the design, for century after century passed on, the dynasty of Wun Raja was forgotten, the Moslem had conquered, ruled, and fallen in his turn, the locust-like Mahratta cloud was already dissipating beneath the booming thunder of the western cannon, and yet, in the chains forged by Kurun Solunkhee, Roopeyn still was bound; these fetters broke at last, and the ocean of the king became in a moment an uncared for waste.[1]

The town of Modheyra is situated on a low hill or mound formed of the debris of brick buildings, and rising out of a level plain. The character of the country near it, and the presence of salt water creeks carried up from the Runn, suggest the probability of its having at a former time stood very near the edge of the sea, which once covered that tract. It is known in Jain legends as Modherpoor, or Modhbunk Puttun, and it gave its name to the caste of Brahmins called Modh. A very handsome Hindoo temple stands in the immediate vicinity of the town, which (as the erections mentioned by Merootoong may be looked for in the neighbourhood of Kurun Sâgur as well as in that of Âshâwul) we may surmise to be either the Kuruneshwur or Kurun Meroo Prâsâd. This temple will be more fully described hereafter; but we may in this place notice that it corresponds exactly in style with two small shrines still remaining of those which adorned the 'ocean of Kurun,' and that the finish everywhere visible in its execution, indicates that it was erected at a time when

[1] This occurred in A. D. 1814. The year before there had been a famine, and in that year the fall of rain was so heavy that the Roopeyn, becoming for the time a large stream, broke through the embankment.



PORCH OF THE TEMPLE AT MODHEYRA

resources were plentiful, and when an external enemy was not apprehended.

A superb temple to Nemeenâth which stands upon Rewutâchul or Girnâr, is also attributed to Raja Kurun, and called after him the Kurun Veehâr.

Kurun Raja appears to have been for a long time denied the blessing of a son to succeed him ; towards the close of his reign, however, a romantic incident made him the father of a young prince who was destined to raise to its culminating point the glory of Unhilwârâ. One day, soon after the king had mounted the throne, an usher came to him and informed him that a portrait painter who had travelled in many countries stood at the door seeking permission to appear in his presence. At the raja's order the painter was introduced into the court,[1] and, having made obeisance, sat down and said, 'O king! 'your fame has travelled into many countries, therefore many 'people think of you, and are desirous of seeing you ; I, too, 'for a long time have been so desirous.' Then the painter submitted to the king a roll of pictures. Therein Lukshmee was represented dancing before a raja, and beside her there was a maiden portrayed much more beautiful than Lukshmee. The raja, when he saw the picture, praised the maiden's beauty exceedingly, and asked of what race she was. The painter replied 'There is in the Dekkan a city named Chundrâpoor, 'the king thereof is Jye Keshee ;[2] this maiden is his daughter, 'the princess Myenul Devee. She is in the bloom of youth. 'Many princes desired to wed her, but she assented to no one. 'Her relations told her that the flower of her age was passing 'away, and that she should consent to receive a husband. 'Then the maiden began to worship Gouree in order to obtain 'a bridegroom full of great qualities.[3] The Boudhist Jutees, 'too, that shave the hair of their heads and their beards, 'having painted portraits of many royal princes, exhibited 'them to her. Afterwards some unskilled painter who had 'come to Chundrâpoor, exhibited to the princess the portrait

[1] [The tale is of interest as proving that the mediaeval Hindu kings encouraged the art of portrait painting.]

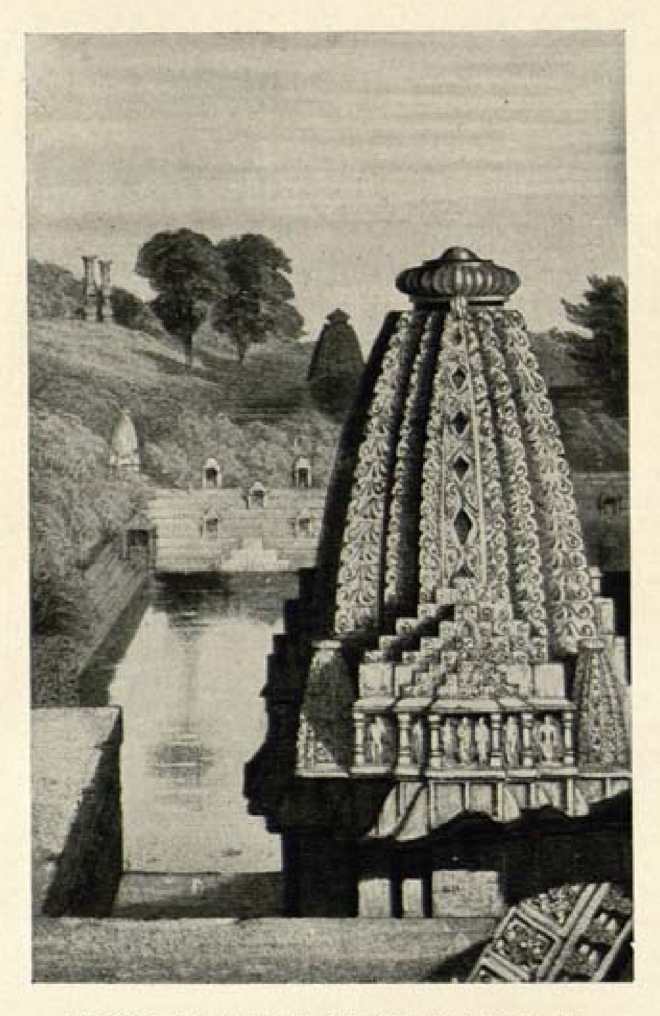
[2] Jye Keshee is described in another place as the son of Shoobkeshee, King of Kurnât-land, who perished in a forest conflagration.*

[3] See account of the festival of Gouree in the Conclusion.

'of your highness. She, when she saw it, was delighted in 'heart, and announced to her mother that she had chosen you 'for her bridegroom. When she sees birds flying from the 'north she asks them if they are come from Raja Kurun. 'She refuses to eat or drink, and because her desire of 'marrying you is not speedily gratified, she is pining away. 'For this reason the maiden has sent me privately to your 'presence, and Jye Keshee Raja also has authorized my 'coming.' Having thus spoken, the painter presented gold, jewels, and other gifts with which he had been entrusted by Jye Keshee. Kurun Raja received them, and great eagerness for marrying the maiden arose in his mind.

The princess was soon conducted to Unhilwârâ Puttun and married to Kurun Raja, who, according to his engagement, received her with great honor, and placed her in the position of chief queen. Myenul Devee, however, instead of being possessed of the charms the description of which had so much captivated the king, appeared to him to be singularly ill-favored, and though he kept his word by allowing the ceremony of espousal to be performed, he refused to consummate the marriage, and 'even with his eyes wholly regarded her not.' This resolution of her husband's was the cause of great affliction to Myenul Devee, who prepared to destroy herself by fire, with her attendants, and bring down the guilt of murder upon the head of Kurun. His mother, Oodayâmutee, too, who could not endure the sight of her daughter-in-law's sufferings, threatened to accompany her in her death. The King's subjects also loudly expressed their sense of his cruelty, and complained of his impolicy in refusing to strengthen his throne by the prospect of a successor to its honors. Kurun, however, remained unmoved, and would, perhaps, have been contented to try to the utmost the patience of his people, as well as the fortitude of his mother and his bride, had he not been deceived by a stratagem, such as that by which Tamar practised upon Judah, or Mariana (as the poet represents) compelled the reluctant love of Angelo.

The king, having fallen in love with the very beautiful actress, Numoonjâlâ, had arranged with her a secret assignation. A minister of the name of Moonjâl, becoming cognizant of the fact, contrived to substitute Myenul Devee in her place.



KOOND IN FRONT OF THE TEMPLE AT MODHEYRA

Kurun fell into the snare, and the queen became pregnant by him, having secured from the hand of her husband his signet ring as a token which could not be disclaimed. No sooner had the king, however, gratified his wishes, than he repented that he had indulged them, and having consulted the Brahmins, prepared to undergo a terrible penance in the embrace of seven images of heated brass. The minister then explained to him the stratagem by which he had been deceived. Thus Myenul Devee became the mother of the illustrious Sidh Râj Jye Singh Dev,* who, as local tradition relates, first saw the light at Pàhlunpoor.

Sidh Râj was yet a child when his father Kurun, fixing his thoughts on Vishnoo, went to Indrapoor. During his minority there appears to have been a struggle between rival factions for the possession of royal power. Dev Prusâd, the son of Kshem Râj, Kurun's brother, when he heard of that king's death, prepared a funeral pile on the banks of the Suruswutee, and burned himself alive. He left a son, Treebhoowun Pâl, who was a close attendant upon the person of the young prince, and, in after times, when Sidh Râj went forth subduing the whole earth as far as the ocean, Treebhoowun Pâl placed himself before his sovereign in the battle. The reins of government were first held by Mudun Pâl, the brother of Kurun's mother, Odayâmutee; but this prince, behaving in a tyrannical manner and having, in particular, oppressed and extorted a large sum of money from a celebrated and popular physician of the court, named Leelâ, a combination was formed against him, and the minister Sâmtoo, having obtained possession of the person of the young prince by a stratagem, and conveyed him to his own house, caused Mudun Pâl to be put to death by the hands of his soldiers.

Power now passed into the hands of the young sovereign's mother, Myenul Devee, who was assisted by the ministers Sâmtoo and Moonjâl, and by another named Oodâ, who appear to have been all of them Wâneeos in caste, and Jains in religion. It was during the regency of Myenul Devee that the two reservoirs which received names from her—the Meenul Sur, or Mon Sur, at Veerumgâm, and the Mulâv, or Meenul-tulâv, at Dholka, were constructed.

On the east of the latter tank was a courtezan's house

which, as it interfered with the symmetry of her design, the Rânee proposed to purchase for a large sum of money. The owner, however, declined to part with it, remarking that her name would be rendered as famous by the refusal as that of the queen would be by the construction of the reservoir. Myenul Devee was too upright to employ force, and her conduct in the matter, though it produced an irregularity in the tank, which is still apparent, procured for her government a reputation which is preserved in the local proverb, 'Would 'you see justice, visit the Mulâv.' Her ministers also vied with the queen in erecting costly works of architecture, of which the chronicler mentions a Jain convent, called Ooden Veehâr, at Kurunâwutee, and the temples of '*Shree Moonjâl's Lord*,' and '*Sâmtoo's Foundation*,' probably in the same city.

Before she left her own country Myenul Devee, doubtless at the persuasion of the priests of Shiva, had bound herself by a vow that she would procure the remission of the duties levied at a place called Bâhoolod (now Bhâlod),* a ford of the Nerbudda river, a little above Shookul Teerth, upon the pilgrims proceeding to the Shrine of Someshwur. In a former birth, as her spiritual preceptors informed her, she had been a Brahminee, and had arrived at Bâhoolod with the view of performing pilgrimage at Dev Puttun, but being unable to pay the duties demanded of her, she had been refused permission to advance further, and in grief on that account had produced her death by abstaining from all food. The opportunity having now arrived for the accomplishment of her vow, Myenul Devee carried the young Sidh Râj with her to Bâhoolod, where they had the opportunity of observing personally the inconveniences to which the pilgrims were exposed. The jury of five, to whom the collection of the tax was entrusted, were summoned to produce their accounts, and though the amount realized was found to be an immense sum, Sidh Râj, placing water in his mother's hand as a *kol*,[1] and declaring the act to be a religious gift on her part, remitted

[1] The ceremony called Choollook or Kol, which is performed by pouring water into the hand of a party to whom a promise is made, as an earnest that the engagement is irrevocable, is still used in Goozerat. Sometimes the water being discarded, the maker of a promise merely places his hand in the hand of the other party. [*vide* p. 247, *note*.]

the levy. Myenul Devee then worshipped Someshwur with great splendour, presenting an elephant, a gold figure called a 'toolâ pooroosh,'[1] holding a set of scales, and other great gifts.

While the young sovereign of Goozerat was thus employed, Yushowurmân, the king of Malwa, invaded the northern part of his dominions. The minister, Sâmtoo, who held the deputed power of Sidh Râj, at Unhilwârâ, being either without the means of repelling this invasion, or without the energy to employ them, induced Yushowurmân to retire by paying him a sum of money, but the young king, on his return to the capital, was much enraged at what had happened, and from that time forward set his heart upon the reduction of Malwa.

It was while preparing for this expedition that Sidh Râj commenced the construction of the Suhusra Ling tank at Unhilwârâ,[2] so celebrated in tradition and tale. The excavation made for this reservoir is still pointed out at Puttun, but of the fabric itself nothing remains. It was one of the circular, or rather multilateral tanks, of which several examples, more or less perfect, are to be met with in Goozerat, and its name (which may be rendered 'the reservoir of the thousand temples of Shiva'), was probably derived from numerous shrines of Muhâ Dev encircling it, similar to those which still remain around the Meenul-sur of Veerumgâm. The following story, in connection with this reservoir, is still a popular subject of recitation and song :—

TALE OF JUSMÂ THE ODUN

Once on a time, a countryman from Malwa came to Sidh Râj, and praised the beauty of Jusmâ, the Odun. The raja

[1] Or perhaps Myenul Devee gave her weight in gold to the shrine : this was an usual practice.

[2] This reservoir appears to have been in existence in the reign of Akber. 'Beiram Khan, his minister,' it is said, 'proceeded to Goozerat, in order to embark for Mecca, and reached the suburbs of Puttun (Unhilwârâ), then governed by Moosy Khan Lody. During his stay there he went to visit a spot called Sahasnuk, so called from the thousand temples erected in its vicinity.' Briggs's *Ferishtah*, ii, p. 203. The same nobleman is the reputed founder of the Khan Surowur at Puttun. [The 'Sahasnuk' of Briggs must be a misreading for 'Sahasling.' In Persian writing the difference is slight.]

sought to possess her, and made many attempts to do so which were unsuccessful. At length, when he was commencing the Suhusra Ling tank, at Puttun, he sent his sister's son, Doodhmul the Chowra, to bring a number of Ods[1] and Oduns from Malwa. Doodhmul set out to fetch them, and arrived at their village, and said that Sidh Râj, the Solunkhee, had a large tank to excavate and wanted the assistance of a number of Ods and Oduns. Jusmâ thereupon collected a number of her caste-fellows and with her husband came to Puttun. Sidh Râj gave orders that the other Ods should be accommodated outside the town, but that Jusmâ should be brought into the palace. Jusmâ refused, saying: 'Rânees sleep in palaces, it is fitter for the Odun 'to lie upon the ground.'

When the digging of the tank commenced, the raja in person sat looking on; he became very much enamoured of Jusmâ. He said to her, 'Jusmâ, do not lift such heavy loads of earth, you will injure yourself.' She said there was no fear of that. He told her to take care of her child and let the other Oduns lift the earth. She said, 'I have hung him to the branch of a tamarind tree, as I come and go I swing his cradle.'

When the excavation was completed, the raja paid all the Ods, but said that Jusmâ should remain and he would pay her by and bye. Meanwhile he gave the Ods leave to retire; Jusmâ, however, secretly went with them. When he became aware of this, the raja mounted and pursued them as far as Modheyra, slaying some of the Ods. Jusmâ, upon this, plunged a dagger into her belly, and, as she died, cursed Sidh Râj, and said that his tank should never contain water.

The raja, returning to Puttun, found the tank dried up. He asked the minister what ought to be done that water might remain in the tank. The Prudhân, after consulting the astrologers, said that if a man's life were sacrificed, the curse would be removed. At that time the Dhers (or out-castes) were compelled to live at a distance from the towns; they wore untwisted cotton round their heads and a stag's horn, as a mark, hanging from their waists, so that people might be able to avoid touching them. The raja commanded that a Dher, named

[1] The Ods are a low caste, whose occupation is that of excavating tanks.

Mâyo, should be beheaded in the tank, that the water might remain. Mâyo died, singing the praises of Vishnoo, and the water after that began to remain in the tank. At the time of his death Mâyo had begged, as a reward for his sacrifice, that the Dhers should not in future be compelled to live at a distance from the towns, nor to wear a distinctive dress. The raja assented, and these privileges were afterwards permitted to the Dhers for the sake of Mâyo.

After this Jye Singh prepared to go quickly to Oojein, collecting his army from village to village. He advanced stage by stage, subjecting the rajas whose towns he passed on the road, and compelling them to accompany him ; he caused the tops of many high places to be lowered, in order that his army might find a more level road. Some Bheel chieftains, with their followers, attended the king, who astonished Sidh Râj with their feats of activity—'In his army they seemed as the 'followers of Hunoomân, in attendance upon Râm.' At last the king of Goozerat encamped on the banks of the river Seepra ; the tents were pitched, the horses secured in order, and all details arranged. Then there was festival held in the tent of Jye Singh—the dancers danced before him.

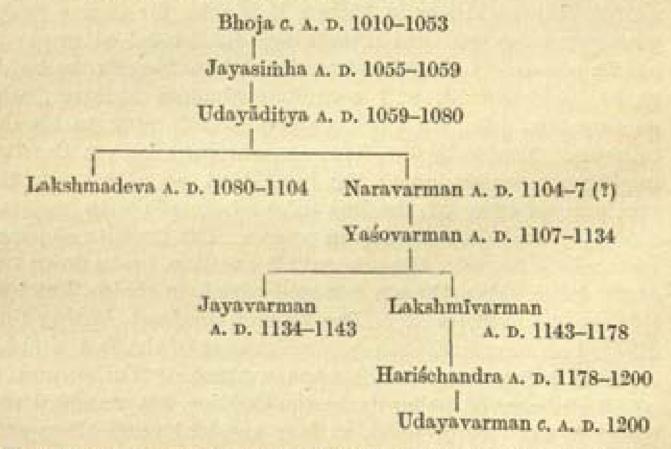
Sidh Râj made war in Malwa, it is said, for twelve years, with great renown, but after many ineffectual attempts to obtain possession of the capital city, Dhârâ Nugger, he began to be disheartened, and consulted Moonjâl Muntree, who accompanied him, on the propriety of returning to his dominions. That minister, however, obtained from a deserter intelligence which led to the hope that an attack on the southern gateway of the fort might be made with success. Sidh Râj headed the assault in person. The favorite elephant upon which he rode, after incredible exertion, broke down two of the three gates, though fastened with iron chains, but won this success with its life. The king of Goozerat, having thus effected an entrance, soon became master of the fort, and his triumph being completed by the capture of Yushowurmân, who had behaved gallantly in the defence, his standard was raised in the city of Bhoj, as four hundred years afterwards the banners of his Moslem successor were planted upon the battlements of Mandoo.[1]

[1] The following Pedigree of the Kings of Mâlwâ, is from an inscription

translated by Mr. L. Wilkinson, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (*Bengal Branch*) v, p. 380, and from the other authorities quoted :—

I. Raja Bhoj Dev.
II. Oodayâdit.
III. Nurwurm, died St. 1190 (A. D. 1134.) v. Ins: from Oojein, translated by Colebrooke, *Trans. R. A. S. I.* 232.
IV. Yushowurm.
V. Ujye-wurm, 'by the favor of this raja, the learned and accomplished 'Prince Shree Hurischundra Dev received dominion :' who from his capital of Neelâgeeree made gifts to Brahmins in St. 1235. (A. D. 1179.) v. *Journ. Ben. A. S.* vii, 736.
VI. Vindhya-wurm, 'who directed his ambition to the reduction of 'the country of Goozerat.'
VII. Umooshyâyun.
VIII. Soobhut-wurm, or Sohud. 'The angered prowess of this conqueror, like the fiery rays of the sun, which exercised its 'thundering rage in the city of Puttun, in (or cities of) 'Goozerat, is witnessed to the present day in the forest con'flagrations that still prevail in the country.'
IX. Urjoon Raja. 'This prince when still a child, put Jye Singh 'Raja to flight even in child's play.' In the fort of Mandoo, on the 10th Phalgoon Shukla Sumwut, 1267. (A. D. 1210) he grants a village to his family priest 'in commemoration of his 'accession.'

[The following is the genealogy of the Parmāras :



The above is an approximate list, derived from inscriptional evidence. Forbes's names are alternative titles. The Rājās were purely local rulers of small importance, and were at last replaced by Tomara Rājputs.]

As he returned homewards, Sidh Râj attacked and drove from their fortresses the chieftains who plundered pilgrims travelling along the road, thus making the country 'fearless.'

It was when Sidh Râj made his triumphal entry into Unhilwârâ after his conquest of Malwa, Yushowurmân placed as a flag of victory (Yushputâkâ) on the royal elephant, that the king's notice was first attracted to the future author of the *Dwyâshrây*,[1] Hemchunder the Âchârya, who as first of the priests of the Jain religion, proclaimed among the white-robed train the glory of the hero of Goojur Râshtra :—

'O Kâmdooghâ ![2] sprinkle the land. O sea ! make a 'swusteek of pearls. O moon ! shine in full splendour. O 'elephants ! supporting the eight regions of heaven, wave 'garlands of good leaves of the tree of desire—conquering the 'earth, Sidh Râj comes.'

The excitement and joy of his triumphal return over, the king was called upon to preside in a court which was to determine the merits of a new treatise on grammar, composed by Hemâchârya, to silence the opponents who attributed his skill to the assistance he had derived from Brahminical learning. The decision was given in the Âchârjee's favor, and his work was, at the order of the sovereign, placed upon the head of one of the royal elephants, and, with the white umbrella extended over it, the hair fans and other emblems of imperial state, was conveyed to the treasury of the palace. The 'evil disposed,' however, remarked that the work contained no eulogy of the king's ancestors. Sidh Râj was displeased on hearing this remark, but, the next morning, when the grammar was re-examined, Hemâchârya was duly prepared to remedy the deficiency, and burst forth into eloquent verse in the praise

[1] [This is a Prākrit poem, written with the double purpose of teaching grammar and giving the history of Kumārapāla. Hemāchārya, or Hemachandra, the Jain monk and minister, was the foremost scholar of his age and a voluminous author (A. D. 1089–1273). See Bühler, *Ueber das Leben des jainer Mönches Hemachandra* (Wien, 1889).]

[2] 'Kâmdooghâ' is the cow of paradise. The word *swusteek* has been explained already (*vide* p. 57, and note). The allusion is to the usual decoration of houses at times of rejoicing, viz., purifying with cow-dung, painting swusteeks on the wall with vermilion, or forming them with jewels or grains upon a table, and hanging garlands at the door.

of the Solunkhee sovereigns. Soon afterwards he still further repaired his omission by the composition of the *Dwyâshrây*.

Sidh Râj next turned his attention to the state of the Tree-pooroosh Prâsâd, the funeral shrine of the Prince Mool Râj, and the other royal temples, providing the means of maintaining them, and the 'income of the Devs,' on so extravagant a scale as to call forth prophetic remonstrances from Yushowurmân who here appeared playing the part of Crœsus to this Cyrus of India. 'Malwa is a territory producing hundreds of 'thousands of treasure, yet it has been absorbed by Goozerat, 'as if a sea were drowned in a jar of water. The reason is 'that Malwa was formerly given to Muhâ Kâl Dev,[1] and 'became the property of the god. We enjoyed it, but, from 'that splendour, we have now descended as the sun descends 'beneath the horizon. The kings of your race, too, not being 'able to furnish so much religious income, will diminish each 'Dev's possessions, until calamity cut you off from the very 'root.'

The temple of Roodra Muhâ Kâl, at Shreesthul, which had been established by Mool Raja, had fallen into disrepair, and the demons, or 'Rakshuses,'[2] had been emboldened to annoy the Brahmins so that the smoke of the sacrificial fire no longer rose to the heavens. Sidh Râj, expelling the enemies of the Brahmins, employed his most skilful architect in the completion of the edifice. Then, having consulted the astrologers, and being warned that the arrival of a foreign conqueror would be fatal to this new shrine as it had been to the temple of Dev Puttun, Sidh Râj caused images of 'horse lords' and other

[1] Bhoowur Raja, of whom mention has been made as the enemy of Jye Sheker, the father of Wunrâj, is reported to have been restored to the use of his limbs at the shrine of Muhâ Kâl, at Oojein; and, in gratitude for the cure, to have given up to Muhâ Dev the whole of Malwa with the metropolis, assigning the protection of it to Purmâr Rajpoots.

[2] In the *Dwyâshrây*, the leader of these 'Râkshuses' is called Burbur, or Burburuk, a name which, under the form of Wurwurk, is mentioned in the inscription alluded to, in the note at p. 66, as that of the King of Malwa The allusion may, therefore, be to the invasion, by Yushowurm, which excited the anger of Sidh Râj. [The Barbaras or Varvaras are a non-Aryan tribe of N. Gujarat. Cf. the port of *Βαρβαρικόν* on the Indus. But the supposed identity with *βάρβαρος* is most doubtful. Cf. Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, vi, 167. *Gazetteer*, vol. i, part 1, p. 175, n.]

great kings to be made, and, installing them in the temple, placed near them a representation of himself in the attitude of supplication, with an inscription praying that even if the land was laid waste this temple might not be destroyed. Meanwhile the 'victorious' pendant of Muhâ Dev was planted on the summit of the Roodra Mâlâ, and the king, as an act of grace, gave permission that flags should be raised also upon the Jain temples, which before had been forbidden. It was at this time that the town of Shreesthul, in commemoration of its royal restorer, assumed the name of Sidhpoor. The Jains add, that the king caused to be built also, in the same place, a temple to Muhâ Veer Swâmee, and that he worshipped the 'congregation' there.

Sidh Râj soon after returned to Malwa, and spent the rainy season in that country. While there, he received the agreeable intelligence that the Suhusra Ling tank was completed and filled with water. On his arrival in Goozerat, at the close of the rains, he took up his residence at Shree Nugger, 'a great city.' Observing many flags on the temples of that city, he made inquiries of the Brahmins, who detailed to him the different shrines of their faith that there existed, as well as those of the Jain religion. Sidh Râj angrily exclaimed: 'In 'Goojur-land I have forbidden the flag to Jain temples, how 'is it, then, that in your city this order is disregarded?' The council who managed the temple of Shree Rishub Dev thereupon brought forth their copper-plates and other records to prove, in the royal court, the antiquity of their privileges. This point was, at the close of the proceedings, admitted even by the Brahmins, upon which the 'high-minded' sovereign granted permission that the flags should be raised on the Jain temples at the end of a year from that day.

Among the Senâputees, or generals of the army of Sidh Râj, was a celebrated Purmâr chieftain, named Jugut Dev,[1] whose existence is alluded to by the monk of Wudwân but merely with the remarks that he was 'thrice valiant,' or

[1] [He was not really related to the Parmāras of Mālwā, but to the Kādamba monarchs of Goa. He may have got his title from the Rājā Parmādi Śivachitta of Goa (A. D. 1147–1187) into whose service he entered on Siddharājā's death. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 91.]

possessed of strength, talent, and wealth ; that he was much admired by Sidh Râj, and that he at length quitted that king's service for the court of Purmurddee Raja, of whose principal queen he was the bracelet-bound brother.

The tale which is now introduced to the reader, and which has for its hero this valiant chieftain, is more than usually barren of historical fact, but presents some spirited pictures of Rajpoot life, and may serve as a not unfavourable specimen of the romances which are a source of delight to every true son of the Kshutrees.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TALE OF JUG DEV PURMÂR

IN the land of Malwa, in the city of Dhârâ, Oodayâdit ruled. He had two Ranees, one of the Wâghela clan, the other of the Solunkhee. The Wâghelee had a son, Prince Rindhuwul.[1] She was the favorite; the Solunkhunee was held in less estimation. The latter had a son, Jug Dev; he was somewhat swarthy in complexion, but handsome. Rindhuwul was the elder son, and the heir apparent; there was a difference of two years in the age of the brothers. When Jug Dev reached the age of twelve years, the raja asked Mudâr, one of his household, 'Has the Solunkhee lady a son or not?' Mudâr answered 'The Solunkhee lady has a son, Jug Dev, but he never comes 'to the palace.' The raja said, 'In the world there is nothing 'greater than a son.' So saying, he sent to call Jug Dev. Then Jug Dev came to the palace; his coat was of coarse cloth; on his head was a turban, that might have been bought for two shillings; his ears and hands were unadorned. In this state he appeared, and made his obeisance. The raja pressed him to his bosom, seated him near himself, and seeing his dress, said, 'Son! how is it you wear such clothes?' Jug Dev replied, 'My austerities have been few; born in the 'house of a mighty prince, still in that great king's land 'of Malwa, I hardly obtain a pound of salt and water. To

[1] Colonel Tod, (*Rajasthan*, ii, 1203,) quoting the Annals of Jesulmeer, has the following:

'Raedhuwul Püar, son (or descendant) of Udyadit of Dhâr, had three 'daughters, one of whom he betrothed to Jeipâl (Ujye Pâl) Solunkhi, son 'of Sid Râj, another to Beeji Râj Bhatti, and the third to the Rana of 'Cheetore.'

SidhRâj, however, left no son; Ujye Pâl, who succeeded him eventually, was his relation, but not his descendant. *Vide* pedigree of Malwa kings in the note at p. 111.

The Jug Dev of the time of Sidh Râj might have been the son of Oodayâdit, the successor of Bhoj. The present tale is, however, a pure romance.

'my mother one village you have assigned. This is a sub-'sistence for her, and the business of its rule is in her hands. 'Tunsoo-Gâm[1] is a great name, but the produce of it is 'little. Meat and drink, clothing, men-servants' and maid-'servants' subsistence, cars and oxen—these, all of them, are 'supplied by the produce of a single village. My own clothes 'are beyond the produce.' The raja, when he heard this, said to the treasurer, 'Give him four shillings a day.' Jug Dev said, 'Mighty prince! the present you have given me I 'have accepted, but the illustrious Mâojee[2] is very affec-'tionate to me, therefore I shall not obtain it. Well, whatever 'has been written will come to pass!' Then the raja, demanding a bag of money from the treasurer, gave it into his hand, and said, 'Son, buy clothes, live comfortably.' Then he gave Jug Dev permission to retire. Jug Dev, taking leave, detailed to his mother what had happened, and gave her the purse. Some follower of the Wâghelee's, who heard and saw what occurred, went and told his mistress. 'To-day the 'raja shewed great kindness to Jug Dev; he granted him 'four shillings a day, and presented him with a purse.' When she heard that, the flame of anger sprung from her foot up to her head. Sending an eunuch, she called the raja thither—she paid him obeisance. The raja seated himself on a cushion. The Wâghelee, with reddened eyes, addressed him: 'What is this you have been giving to the Doohâgun's 'son to-day?' The raja said, 'The Solunkhunee is the 'Doohâgun,[3] but her son is first. Rindhuwul is the Teelâyut 'heir-apparent, but Jug Dev pleases my eye; he will be a 'good Rajpoot.' Then said the Wâghelee, 'He is swarthy in 'complexion; his fortune, too, is written in black letters. 'Why do you praise him? Send for the purse back again.' The raja replied, 'That I have presented to him; another 'time I will consult you before I give.'

[1] The name means 'three good villages.'

[2] Meaning the Wâghelee Rânee, Mâ (mother) is respectfully rendered Mâjee, Mâojee.

[3] *Soohâgun* is the title of the favorite, and *Doohâgun* of the less esteemed wife. Compare the passage in Deuteronomy xxi, 15 to 17. Teelâyut is the head of the house, who bears the mark of royalty (the teeluk) on his forehead.

At that time the Raja of Mândoogurh, whose service Oodayâdit performed, sent a letter commanding his speedy attendance. The raja quickly went off upon that business. Both princes remained at home. Jug Dev's associates were good; he admitted visitors affably, he gave good advice, his manner of living was good, his temper was pleasing, therefore people spoke well of him in the world, and his fame increased. Rindhuwul dwelt in the palace, but Jug Dev in his own house. In this way two years passed away. At that time the lord of Gord-land, a raja of the Gord clan, by name Gumbheer, hearing of the reputation of Jug Dev, sent a cocoa-nut for him to Dhârâ-nugger, with an elephant and nine horses, the cocoa-nut mounted in silver and gold, a family priest to present the cocoa-nut, and a minister. They arrived at Dhâr; everybody talked about the Gord raja's cocôa-nut having arrived. They were welcomed, a place was given them to lodge in, and fodder for their cattle provided. The family priest, the eunuch, and the minister together said, 'Bring forward the cocoa-nut.' The Gord priest answered, 'My raja has ordered me to cause 'Prince Jug Dev to take it. Do you, therefore, place him 'on the cushion; I will make the royal mark on his forehead, 'and present the cocoa-nut.' After this conversation the party separated. The Wâghelee was held in much awe: they went and told her, 'The cocoa-nut is Jug Dev's.' Then the Wâghelee, in a rage, exclaimed, 'O destiny! do you give 'the cocoa-nut to this black-leprosied one of ours. The 'cocoa-nut befits my son—explain this to the comers, and 'cause the cocoa-nut to be given to Rindhuwul. I will do 'them service.'[1] The priest said to Mutoowee, the Gord priest, presenting him at the same time with a sum of money, 'Jug Dev is the son of the Doohâgun; he does not get as 'much food as he could eat; Rindhuwul is the heir-apparent; 'his mother is the chief queen; give the cocoa-nut to him.' Afterwards the cocoa-nut was given to the good Prince Rindhuwul; he was marked with the royal mark, the great drum sounded, thirty-two musical instruments were played. The priest then said, 'For once, shew me Jug Dev.' Letting the

[1] This expression means, in plain English, 'I will give them a bribe.'

Wâghelee know, they brought Jug Dev. The priest Mutoowee saw him; he shook his head when he beheld how handsome Jug Dev was, and how clever he seemed, and splendid in appearance. However, he said, 'What is written must come to 'pass.' He asked leave to retire: they presented him with a dress of honor, and dismissed him. He returned to his own country, and told the story to Raja Gumbheer as follows:—'We gave the cocoa-nut to Rindhuwul. The heir-apparent 'is Rindhuwul, but the handsome is Jug Dev. He has no 'good clothes, but he is like the rays of the sun in splendour. 'However, no one is strong against what is written.' The raja said, 'You have made a great mistake; but what has 'been given cannot be made ungiven, nor have I another 'daughter.' So saying, he sent for an astrologer; caused the letter, announcing the day of marriage, to be written, and sent it to Dhâr. He gave a separate letter to the minister, in which was written, 'Bring Prince Jug Dev with you; if you 'do not, the matter cannot be arranged.' The messenger, taking the letter, went to Dhâr; he presented it to the minister, who read it, and gave it to the Rânee. The Wâghelee said, 'Take away the black fellow.' They prepared the cavalcade, and caused it to be told to Jug Dev:—'Prince! prepare to go 'in the marriage-band.' Jug Dev said, 'How shall I prepare 'without jewels or clothes fit to be seen? besides, I cannot 'travel as a footman.' The ministers went and told the Wâghelee. She sent him from the treasury handsome clothes, bracelets, a pearl necklace, a collar, a gold chain. She said, too, 'Take a good horse from the stables; there are many 'servants, some of them must go.' Afterwards the cavalcade of about twenty thousand men set off. On their way they halted at Took Todâ*; a raja, named Râj, ruled there, who was of the Dâk Chowra race. His son Beerj was regent, Raja Râj being blind, though he saw with the eyes of his intellect. That raja had a daughter, by name Veermutee, who was a virgin, and marriageable. Her father was looking out for a good connection for her, but could not discover a suitable bridegroom. There the marriage party arrived. Raja Râj said, 'In this cavalcade is Jug Dev; he is a very good Raj-'poot, and worthy of rule; with him cause the young lady to

'walk the rounds.'[1] Prince Beerj assented to what he said; he went to the stranger's camp to pay his respects. When he reached the camp, he said, 'Having accepted my hospitality, 'proceed in the morning.' With urgency he compelled them to accept his invitation. Afterwards, returning into the fort, he made enquiries of the astrologer, and ascertained that the fortunate hour fell the next day at even-time, when cattle return into the villages from grazing. The necessary preparations were made. Next day the lady Veermutee was anointed with tumeric; Gunesh was installed. At three in the afternoon they assembled for the feast: all eat together. By the time they had washed their hands and risen from the feast the auspicious time came round. Then the prince Beerj said to the priest and minister, 'I am going to give my sister to 'prince Jug Dev;' he presented the cocoa-nut, with four horses to him, and said, 'Passing the garland-ornamented door 'grace the bridal-hall.' The Dhâr minister knew that a good thing had happened. Passing the garland, the bridegroom graced the hall. It became morning—an elephant, five-and-twenty horses, nine maid-servants were presented. The guests requested leave to depart; as they were bound to a particular day, the Chowree Vermutee was left at her own home. They said, 'As we return we will take her with us.' The cavalcade proceeded, and arrived in the Gord territories. The news of Jug Dev's marriage was known. Raja Gumbheer, scrutinising Jug Dev's appearance, was very much annoyed at finding him married; but the written matter alters not. The Gord chief celebrated the marriage of his daughter—he presented double presents; horses he gave, elephants, eleven maid-servants. He dismissed the bridegroom's friends. The cavalcade returned to Todâ; placing the Chowree in a chariot, they took her with them; they returned home. The Wâghelee became aware that Jug Dev was married; she was much annoyed in mind. She began to say, 'Ah, this swarthy fellow! a raja gives him 'his daughter, gives her without seeing him!' They performed the ceremony of going out to meet the new comers; the Gord lady and the Chowree paid obeisance to their mother-in-law;

[1] Circumambulation of a sacrificial pit is the most important part of the marriage ceremonial; for a description of which, see Conclusion.

the worship of the Devs was performed. A month afterwards the Gord and the Chowra chieftains sent and took away their daughters to their family homes. Jug Dev sent back the marriage presents he had received with the Chowree, retaining only the dresses and jewels. He said, 'I will not keep them 'here now.'

Jug Dev attained his fifteenth year, then Raja Oodayâdit returned from the duty he had been employed upon. He was in high spirits. Prince Rindhuwul went out to meet him: he paid his obeisance to the raja, also to the leading men of the city. The whole court met and saluted each other, but Jug Dev did not make his appearance. The raja was in high spirits; he took his seat on a cushion in the court. He said to the attendants, 'Prince Jug Dev, where is he?' They said, 'He must be with the Solunkhee lady.' An eunuch was sent to call him; then Jug Dev came dressed in coarse clothes. He made his obeisance. The raja pressed him to his bosom, grasped him by his hand, seated him very near himself, and said to him, 'My boy, are these the clothes you wear?' The prince, joining the palms of his hands, said, 'Sire! when you 'set out you allotted a sum for my daily expenses. Without 'her order I did not get the money. As is one's food, so is 'the state of one's body—that you are aware of. With the 'produce of one village, besides the expenses of servants, how 'can clothes for me be procured?' Then the raja presented to him his own amulets, necklace of pearls, waistband, collar, arm-chains, turban ornament, also his shield, dagger, and sword, and a dagger with a hilt mounted with jewels. Jug Dev received them with an obesiance; but joining his hands, he made a petition:—'Sire! I have obtained that which you 'have honored me with, but Wâghelee Mâjee has a great 'affection for me, so that when you go to her palace she will 'seek to have the whole back again. I will not give back 'again what I have once received, even though yourself order 'it.' The raja said, 'The Wâghelee may say so; but, son, 'I like you better than Rindhuwul, and what I give you is 'my own. In my suite there is a fine horse, which I give 'you; take it, and in the evening come to the court.' Thus saying, he dismissed him. Jug Dev took the horse with him,

causing it to be led before. Going to the Solunkhunee, he made obeisance. Seeing the unusual handsomeness of his appearance, she said, 'Son, if he remain with the Wâghelee, 'have you any confidence?'

The chief of the eunuchs running, said to the Wâghelee, 'To-day the raja presented to Jug Dev every thing he had 'upon him; the best horse in his suite, too, he gave him.' Hearing this, her heart was inflamed with anger. She caused it to be said, 'Sire! grace the refreshment room, the meal is 'ready; the Wâghelee has not washed her mouth; first 'having seen the king and having worshipped the auspicious 'time, she will split the dâtun.'[1] The raja hearing this, came quickly to her apartments in the morning. The Rânee Wâghelee paid obeisance; a carpet was spread and a cushion set. The raja seated himself. The Wâghelee said, 'I wave 'myself as an offering to your handsomeness. You are look-'ing stout, and therefore you have abandoned the fancy for 'ornament; but, O Lord of Earth! without jewels you do 'not look splendid.' The raja said, 'Jewels I had, plenty 'of them beside me; but I saw Prince Jug Dev unadorned, 'so I presented all the jewels to him.' Hearing this, the Rânee said, 'In this black fellow what craft is there! Of 'jewels he has a double share; besides, I sent him new ones 'from the treasury. Then he gave them to the Todâ Chowra. 'But, Sire! you have done this without reflection. Sire! to 'my son you have never once given a present. Send for the 'jewels again, and give them to Rindhuwul.' The raja said, 'A poor man even does not take back again what he 'has given; I am a lord of the land. Rindhuwul and Jug 'Dev are alike to me. I cannot ask or take these things back 'again.' The Rânee Wâghelee said, 'The dagger, the 'sword, and the principal horse, are the heir-apparent's. 'When you have sent for these back again, then I will split

[1] The *dâtun* is a piece of stick used to clean the teeth. It is afterwards split and employed as a tongue-scraper. In Africa the same custom would appear to prevail. 'Before breakfast Addizetta was employed above an 'hour in cleaning and polishing her teeth, by rubbing them with the 'fibrous roots of a certain shrub or tree, which are much esteemed and 'generally used for the purpose in her own country, as well as in the 'more interior parts.' *Lander's Journal*, iii, 217.

'the dâtun.' The raja considered that the obstinacy of a woman was difficult to be overcome, according to the proverb—

I

The store of the poor regard not
When their obstinacy is excited, these four,—
A child, a beggar, a king,
A petted woman.

II

As cold as ice, but burning forests ;
Where water was, strewing stones ;
That an angry woman can do
Which destiny cannot accomplish.

III

A king punishes his subjects ;
A woman punishes all the world ;
A sage's mind she will upset ;—
A woman's wit is boundless.

Then the raja sending the chief of the eunuchs, caused him to say, 'Son ! I will give you another very good sword, but 'send back the one I gave you if you respect my peace. Son ! 'do not be obstinate in this matter.' Thus he made petition to the prince. Then Jug Dev, in a pet, gave back the sword, considering that bickering would only procure for him the title of a bad son. Afterwards, passionately, he exclaimed, 'I am 'a Rajpoot's son : I will go somewhere or other and earn my 'bannock :—

I

'A stone article, a good man
'Are not sold by weight ;
'The further they go from home
'The more valuable they become.

II

'A lion does not wait till the moon is good,
'He waits not for money or supplies.
'Quickness only is good ;
'Where speed, there success.

III

'If wealth be not acquired in youth
'By travel in foreign lands,
'Thrown away is that season
'In the life of a man.

IV

'If a good man be a stay-at-home,
'Three losses he will sustain;
'His clothes will wear out, his debts increase,
'His name remain unknown.

'Therefore, good mother, if you give the order, I will go 'somewhere to seek my fortune.' Then his mother said, 'Son, you are young; whither would you go? To travel 'alone in foreign lands is a very dangerous matter.' Jug Dev answered, 'Mother! God will prosper me; I will get service 'somewhere. God has preserved the honor of the sons of 'good nobles before this, He will preserve mine too. Mother, 'from your splendor I shall obtain fortune.' His mother reflected—

'In his own business calm,
'In another's business strong;
'Him God will protect,
'Interposing his arm.'

She said, too, 'Do what will give you ease.' Then Jug Dev took from the stables a good horse, and opening the treasury took out thence two bags of gold coins; he took arms, too—a bow, a quiver full of arrows—and having slung the latter on his shoulder, he made obeisance to his mother. Angrily he mounted his horse, and quickly made his way to Took Todâ. He halted at a garden outside the town: his horse, tied to a tree, stood champing the bit; he himself spread a thin cloth among the shrubs and sat down. His shield he laid on the ground beside him. He determined to go into the city when it became evening. At that time the Chowree Veermutee, seated in a litter, came thither by chance with her attendant damsels. It was three or four years since the pair had been married. A carpet having been spread, the lady sat down in a pavilion in that garden, as there was a little rain falling at the time. An eunuch was seated at the door to keep it. Then the lady ordered her damsels—'Go, and gather some fruit.' A damsel went out to gather fruit; she saw the horseman and his horse, which was worth four or five hundred pounds, with rich furniture for the yellow saddle. Then the damsel quietly surveyed the young chief. She thought, 'He looks like the

'lady's bridegroom; I am sure it is the prince by the ridge of 'his nose and the redness of his eyes.' She ran and told her mistress: 'Lady, happiness to you; nineteen to one here is 'the noble prince!' The Chowree said, 'I may not look at 'the face of a man; but you are a discreet person, therefore 'go again and bring correct intelligence.' The damsel went back and looked again, and returned, saying, 'Lady, a hundred 'thousand to one it is the prince.' Then the lady said, 'See, 'you are a person of understanding, you are very wise, so 'it is enough.' Afterwards, cautiously peeping from behind the screen of the flower-trees, she found that it was indeed the prince himself. Then the Chowree going quickly, paying obeisance, said—

'At home I was starting the crows,[1]
'Came my husband that minute;
'Half my bracelet clung to my arm,
'Half only was broken off.

'A soft couch, a cool mansion,
'My husband's presence grant me!
'My hope, the desire of my heart,
'Destiny has fulfilled.'

The Chowree said, 'Auspicious hour! auspicious time! 'well rose the sun this day on which I have met your illus-'trious highness; but where are your attendants? Alone, 'in the garden, as if for secrecy, you are seated. What is the 'meaning of this?' Then the prince spoke to the Chowree, telling his story from the beginning, and concluding thus:— 'I am come forth in the hope of attaining service, you must 'not make the matter known.' However, in the meantime the damsel, quickly running, had gone to the palace and said—'Good news! The royal son-in-law has come.' They began at once to prepare the procession of welcome; the damsel received a present for her good news. Prince Beerj ran off on foot, he came and found Jug Dev. The Chowree returned to the palace. Prince Beerj brought Jug Dev with

[1] It is a superstition that if a woman, whose husband is absent, succeed quickly in starting the crows which have alighted on the ground, this is a sign that her husband will soon return. The broken bracelet is the sign of widowhood.

him thither. He made obeisance to Raja Râj. He remained there five days, and then asked permission to proceed. Then Raja Râj said, 'This palace is your own. We have only one 'will between us. Highness! remain even here.' Then Jug Dev said, 'Do not press this subject. For once I will go alone into 'a foreign land. I must put my destiny to the test.' They strove much with each other; at last Jug Dev was forced to say 'yes.' When it became night, however, Jug Dev explained his intentions to the Chowree, and began to take leave of her. She said, 'I will continue doing the prince's service—your 'handmaid will wait upon you.' Jug Dev said, 'Are you 'wise, and do you make such a proposal? In a foreign land 'a wife is as a fetter on the legs. I must go alone. I will 'send for you very soon.' Then the Chowree, throwing her arms round him, said, 'Can the shadow of the body be 'separated from the body? If the shadow can be separated 'from the body then you may order me to remain here.' Jug Dev argued with her much, but the Chowree would not be persuaded. With great constancy, she prepared to go with him. They saddled two horses. They took with them many ornaments mounted with precious stones of great value. The Chowree covered herself with a veil; when Jug Dev mounted his horse she was already prepared. Two bags of gold coins were put in their horses' grain bags. Their intended departure was soon known; at that time Prince Beerj came up with three hundred horsemen to see them off. The Chowree embraced her father and mother; running, she embraced her chief attendants. Then the mother-in-law, giving Jug Dev a silver coin and a cocoa-nut, made the royal mark on his forehead. She commended her daughter, the Chowree, to Jug Dev's protection. Making obeisance, receiving benediction, taking leave of Raja Râj, they set forth. They went a few miles from the city. The escort said to him, 'Your Highness! 'if you are proceeding homewards, this is your road.' Jug Dev then announced his intention,—'I am going to Puttun to 'take service with Sidh Row Jesingh Dev, the Solunkhee.' He enquired the direct road. One of the horsemen said, 'The 'direct road to Toduree, which is the next village, is twenty 'miles; and if you go by the safe road, avoiding the hills, it

'is thirty miles.' Then Jug Dev said,—'Why should you 'leave the direct road? Have you an ill-will at the horses?' The leader of the Rajpoots said,—'The direct road is infested 'by a tiger and a tigress, the villages have been rendered 'desolate by them; the male is like a Dev; rajas and nobles 'have gone against him with great and small drums, but no 'one has been able to subdue him or the tigress. From fear 'of them, no quadruped attains its full growth. The road 'has been stopped up for the last nine years, and the grass 'has grown tall. The pathway is broken up, therefore go 'round by the longer road to Toduree; that road is a safe 'one.' Hearing this, Jug Dev, taking leave of Beerj, after saluting him, went on by the direct road. Beerj remonstrated very much, but without effect; Jug Dev said,—'Why should one go round about from fear of this fool and 'his wife?' The two together fearlessly pushed on their horses. Then Jug Dev said to the Chowree,—'Do you keep 'your eye upon the grass on the left hand as we go.' Thus they went on for six kos; then the Chowree said,—'Royal 'prince! the tigress is in front.' Jug Dev drew an arrow, and, laying it upon his bow, said 'Tigress, you are a female, 'do not come against me, get out of the road and couch 'on the right or on the left.' When she heard the word female, the tigress, raising her tail, depressing her head to the ground, sprang towards him. At that moment he let fly the arrow; it struck her on the forehead, and, passing through, came out, and fell ten paces on the other side. Then the tigress sprang up into the air and fell dead. When they had gone on a distance of a hundred paces, they saw the tiger sitting. Jug Dev then, drawing another arrow from his quiver, said to him, 'Go to the right hand or to the left, or else I will send you to keep company with your foolish female.' Then the tiger, lashing himself with his tail, bending his head to the ground, sprang forwards; at him, too, Jug Dev shot an arrow; it passed through his brain, and, coming out, fell twenty paces off. The tiger, in like manner, sprang up into the air, and fell dead. Jug Dev said, 'Why should I have slain the poor 'animals? I have been guilty of murder.' The Chowree said, 'Your highness! this is royal sport!' Thus conversing,

they came to the tank outside the village of Toduree; there were many sacred fig-trees there; the water was ruffled into little waves. At that place they dismounted beneath a spreading tree and divested themselves of their arms; they drew water, cool as that of Ganges, and watered their horses. The Chowree was employed in washing her mouth. In the meantime Beerj had returned and reported to Raja Râj: 'Jug 'Dev has taken the direct road.' Then Râj was angry, and said, 'Take two hundred and fifty five horsemen with you, 'armed with bows and arrows; where you find them commit 'them to the funeral pile, or if they be alive, bring the news.' Receiving this order, the horsemen started; as they went on cautiously and fearfully, they found the tigers lying dead by the road side; but they saw neither horse nor man. They supposed the objects of their search must be resting at some place where there was water, and that they were not in any danger. The horsemen, who had been dispersed to make search, now all of them came together again, and 'Râm! 'Râm!'[1] passed between them. They congratulated each other on having accomplished a task which they expected would have cost their lives. Taking the two arrows with them, pleased, and without fear, they hastened on; when they arrived at the tank they found Jug Dev there. The Chowree recognized them as they came up, saying, 'These are some of 'our Rajpoots.' The horsemen went up and made obeisance; they said to Jug Dev, 'Prince royal! you have done a great 'piece of religion for both the world and the cows. These 'were like servants of the angel of death, neither king nor 'noble could kill them. Who but you, prince! could mitigate 'the calamity of the world!' Jug Dev, however, did not think much of the matter. He gave the Rajpoots leave; they went and related the story of the tigers having been slain. Raja Râj, and the brother-in-law, Beerj, hearing the news, were very much delighted. When the day went down, Jug Dev and the Chowree entered the city and made a meal; paying a few pence to a man they got their horses rubbed down. They remained there two nights and a day, and spent a few shillings

[1] The name '*Râm*' of one of the incarnations of Vishnoo: a common salutation among Hindoos.

for their food. In this way, travelling by stages, they arrived at Puttun. There is a sacred fig-tree on the bank of the Suhusra Ling tank which Sidh Râj built, they dismounted from their horses beneath it, and fastened the animals there. They procured good water, and took care of their horses. The horses stood champing their bits. They took out something to drink, and made themselves ready. At that time Jug Dev said to the Chowree, 'Do you remain here with the horses. 'I will go into the city and hire a house, and come back and 'take my little queen into the city; it would not look well for 'both of us to be wandering about.' The Chowree said, 'Go, 'then, I will remain here.' Then Jug Dev, putting on dagger and sword, went into the city to search for a house to hire. Hear what happened after that!

Now, the master of Sidh Râj's principal province, Doongur-shee, was also the castellan of Puttun. He had a son, the lord Lâl, who was very haughty and in the prime of his youth; on account of the castellanship of Puttun and the extent of the province there was truly no lack of haughtiness, so that he disdained to tread the earth. There were five hundred houses of courtezans in Puttun; among the mistresses of them was a courtezan, named Jâmotee, who possessed great wealth, and had many sons and daughters. The sons,[1] too, were very wealthy. Once on a time, the castellan's son came to that Jâmotee's house to gamble; he said to her, 'O! Jâmotee, if I could find 'a very beautiful and good caste woman I would keep her, and 'make you a present.' Jâmotee said, 'Very good, I will find 'one, and pay my respects.' Then Jâmotee gave notice to her daughters, and they too began to inquire for a beautiful woman. Many days passed on in this way. The day that Jug Dev and his bride arrived at Puttun, one of the girls, at noon-tide, taking a water vessel, came to the Suhusra Ling tank to draw water. The Chowree, raising the veil from off her face, seeing no man near, threw off the veil. She sat looking at the sheet of water and the buildings of the tank. The damsel, too, recollecting Jâmotee's order, was looking about her. She saw the Chowree, who seemed to her like one of the virgins of Para-

[1] The sons of these persons generally remain with their mothers, and act as musicians (Gundhurvs) and attendants on the dancing women.

dise, bright as the lightning of heaven. The girl was pleased when she saw the Chowree, she took up her water-vessel and approached her, and, saluting her, said, 'Lady! whence have you 'come, and where is the rider of that horse gone?' The Chowree replied, 'Who are you that inquire?' The girl said, 'I am a 'principal servant of the palace of Sidh Râj Jesingh.' The Chowree said, 'As for me, I am married to the son of Ooda-'yâdit Raja, the Purmâr.' The girl said, 'Has your husband 'an elder brother?' 'Yes; his elder brother is Rindhuwul,' she said. Again the damsel asked, 'Lady, what is his highness' 'name?' The Chowree replied, 'Silly one! can one mention 'one's husband's name?'[1] The damsel said, 'One should take 'one's husband's name, or the illustrious world-creator's. 'However, you are the mistress of the country, do as seems 'good to you.' Then the Chowree said, 'The Prince's name 'is Jug Dev.' Again the damsel inquired, 'Where is your 'own family residence?' The Chowree said, 'At Todâ; I am 'Raja Râj's daughter, and Beerj's sister.' Then the damsel said, 'Now the prince has gone into the city, you keep a good 'look out after the horses I suppose.' The Chowree said, 'No 'one dare cast an eye upon the horse of that black antelope of 'the herd.' The damsel said again, 'How is it that the son of a 'great raja should have come forth alone?' The Chowree said, 'He left home in a passion with his step-mother;' and she related the whole story. The damsel, having heard the tale to the end, having made salutation, filled her water vessel, and proceeded home. She said to the courtezan, Jâmotee, 'If you 'wish to pay your respects to the young lord, there is a 'woman seated with two horses at the tank, such a one as I 'have never seen in the country—the very person you were 'describing. She told me her caste, the names of her father-'in-law and husband, and where her home was.' Then Jâmotee dressed the girl in clothes of great value, and put upon her Goozeratee jewels. She also caused to be prepared a very beautiful chariot, and took her seat therein. The servants closed the scarlet screens of the car. Jâmotee caused other girls to dress themselves in beautiful ornaments. She took twenty or thirty chariots with her, several servants accoutred

[1] This is generally forbidden to Hindoo women.

and armed; also an eunuch of great wealth to precede her on horseback. In this fashion she proceeded to where the Chowree was seated. Having arrived at that place she caused the tent walls to be set up. Then Jâmotee descended. The girl who had been talking to the Chowree came and made obeisance to her. Jâmotee said, 'Bride! rise that I may embrace you. 'I am your father-in-law's sister. This principal maid told 'me of your arrival, and I immediately caused my chariot to 'be prepared. I am come with the king's permission. When 'my nephew, Jug Dev, was married at Todâ I was not able to 'come, but I know Rindhuwul very well. Where is my 'nephew, Jug Dev—where has he gone? You had better wait 'in my house; you are my daughter; you are married into a 'family of importance—this is not a fit place for you to be 'sitting in.' The Chowree, seeing the splendid appearance she made, became confused, and suffered herself to be deceived. She considered that the Prince Jug Dev had never mentioned to her any connectionship between him and Sidh Râj Jesingh, but that a raja might very probably be a raja's connection. Thus believing, and taking another look at the stranger's dress and ornaments, she saluted her and embraced her. Jâmotee gave her her benediction, and invited her to sit in the chariot; saying, that she would leave a servant to bring her nephew to the court when he returned to that place. She called also to a servant desiring him to take care of the horses. The Chowree took the purses into her own possession, and ascended the chariot, which drove on. Jâmotee brought her to her own house. The house was a large one, with a gate leading into the courtyard. They drove in, and then stopped the chariot. Jâmotee alighted, and so did the Chowree. The procession of welcome came forth from the house; women, dressed handsomely and adorned with jewels, advanced to meet the Chowree, and saluted her. Some of them touched her feet—some preceded her, exclaiming, 'Prosper, prosper.' Thus they escorted her into the interior. The house was four stories high, and very handsome; it was plastered all round; on all sides were fastened hangings, upon which pictures were wrought in gold and silver; in the windows pierced lattice work was fixed. The servants spread a very handsome carpet; upon it they

placed cushions, bolsters, and pillows for the cheek, covered with gold brocade. They caused the Chowree to seat herself; she retained, however, the two purses beside her. They brought her warm water. Jâmotee said to a damsel, 'Go and inform his 'Majesty that the Purmâr Queen's nephew, Prince Jug Dev, 'has arrived here, and that he will soon pay his respects. Inform 'the raja that he should receive him with great respect, and say 'that the Chowree, his wife, is at my palace.' The damsel, when she heard this, made obeisance, and withdrew. Half-an-hour after she returned, and said, 'His Majesty is very much 'pleased, and has given orders that Jug Dev shall first visit him, 'and afterwards wait upon you.' At this time refreshment was served. Jâmotee said, 'Bride, get ready to dine.' The Chowree said, 'I have taken the puteevrut vow.[1] When the prince 'has dined I will think of dining. The prince has not arrived 'yet.' Then a girl came and said, 'Your nephew, Jug Dev, 'has paid his respects to his majesty, and embraced him; he 'is seated near the king,—dishes have arrived from the royal 'kitchen.' Jâmotee said, 'Hasten and forbid Jug Dev's 'dining with the king,—petition the king, and bring Jug Dev 'with you. To-day aunt and nephew must dine together; 'dinner is ready here.' Jâmotee continued: 'My nephew, 'Jug Dev, has not arrived; how can I sit down to eat before 'he has eaten; when I hear of his having dined, I will think 'of dining.' In the meantime the girl who had gone, returned, and said, 'Madam, the prince is dining with the king; both 'chiefs are seated at a large dish; I saw them before I came 'away; but your nephew is now preparing to come hither. 'How dark he is in complexion!' Jâmotee said, 'That 'is a distinguishing mark of my father's house; my brother 'Oodayâdit is swarthy also, but I have never seen any so 'handsome as those of my own family.' Thus they conversed. Jâmotee then called for handsome dishes; she gave a plate to the Chowree, and said, 'Bride! take some food.' The Chowree eat a little, and the maids removed the plate. They resumed their conversation. When three o'clock in the afternoon arrived, the Chowree said, 'How is it that the prince has

[1] That is, to consider her husband as 'a Dev,' and to fast until after she had waited upon him.

'not come to pay his respects to his father's sister?' Jâmotee answered, 'Run, girl! and bring my nephew Jug Dev.' Again she entered into conversation with the young lady, but the talk seemed to the Chowree to be without flavour in the absence of Jug Dev. The girl came back again in about half-an-hour, and said, 'The king is conversing with him, and will 'not allow him to rise; he says, that after nine o'clock Jug 'Dev will come to sleep in this mansion, and that he will then 'meet his aunt.' Hearing this, Jâmotee was angry with the girl, and said, 'Petition his majesty, and say to him, that it is 'many years since I have met Jug Dev, and that he will have 'plenty of leisure for talking to the king in the morning, but 'that now he must be allowed to visit me.' The girl came back again after another half-hour, and said, that the raja had given the same answer as before. Jâmotee sent notice to the lord Lâl, 'To-day I salute you! come directly nine o'clock 'arrives; I have a woman in my hands, whom, if you please, 'you may make your mistress; if not, I will keep her with 'me.' Then Lâl began to take opium, very strong, with mixed spices in it; he took also intoxicating potions made of hemp and sugar; he put on a handsome dress and ornaments, and applied perfumes to his body, and ointment of musk. He came reeling about, and supporting himself with a spear: in his hand was a 'duck'[1] full of strong liquor. The damsel, when she saw him, ran and said, 'Bride! I claim a present for 'good news; the prince has arrived.' The Chowree fancied he had really come. At that minute the young lord Lâl came to the door of the mansion, which was as far off as one could see. When he entered, the girl closed the door behind him, and, applying the chain, went away. The Chowree saw that it was not her husband: she suspected treachery, but considered with herself that she must be cautious, as she could not be so strong as a man, and he inflamed with liquor. She called to mind the proverb, that with the deceitful one must use deceit, and determined to be wary, as under such difficult circumstances she had to defend her chastity. Thus considering, she rose and said, 'Prince! come and sit on the couch.' He answered, 'Chowree, do you sit.' Seeing how beautiful she

[1] A vessel so called, resembling a duck in form.

was, the Golo[1] was pleased: the Chowree, too, shot arrow-like glances at him, which pierced his breast. The Golo began to be as ductile as water, and the Chowree led him on to tell her the truth. 'Jâmotee,' she said, 'has done well for me.' Lâl said, 'O, Chowree! I had told her that if I could find a 'good caste, beautiful, clever, young woman, I would keep 'her as a mistress; you are just what I wanted. I will do 'whatever you desire.' The Chowree then knew that it was a courtezan that had thus deceived her exceedingly, bringing her and him together by force. Seeing the 'duck' and cup which Lâl had brought with him, and reflecting that he was already excited with liquor, she took the 'duck' and cup from his hand, and filling the cup full, extended it towards him, saying, 'Prince! take a cup from my hand.' Then Lâl answered, 'This is very strong, and I have already drunk 'much. Do you give me another cup, then? No, no, we 'must talk together.' The Chowree said, 'What matters 'talking, do not push back my hand the first time I offer it 'you; receive what I present; I am urgent you should do 'this.' When she said so much, he took the cup and emptied it, and then, with trembling hand, filling it again, offered it to the Chowree. She, drawing her veil over her, poured the liquor out on her bodice. She filled again, and seeing that the Golo had reclined his person, but was not yet fully intoxicated, she gave him the cup again. While in the act of drinking he fell along the couch, clenching his teeth. The Chowree knew then that he was so much intoxicated as to be helpless. She immediately got up, and taking his own sword, cut his throat; then she took the coverlet off the couch and rolled him up in it. Beneath the window was the king's road: she threw the bundle into it. It became midnight, and the watchmen arrived on their rounds; they saw the bundle lying before them, and supposed that some thieves had broken into a merchant's house, and being alarmed by them, had thrown down the bundle, and made off. They fancied they would get praise

[1] It appears that Lâl, though the son of an officer holding high dignities, was of the caste called Golo or Khuwâs, who are either slaves or descendants of them, though sometimes appointed to the most important situations.

from the castellan, so they lifted up the bundle, which they found very heavy. They said to each other, 'Let us not 'open it now; at sunrise the owner will come for his property 'and to trace the footmarks of the thieves, therefore let 'us put the bundle as it is at the castellan's guard-house; in 'the morning we will tell him.' Now all this time the Chowree sat in the upper room prepared to defend her life as resolutely as she might.

Now as to Jug Dev: At five in the afternoon, having hired a house and made his arrangements, he went to the tank where he had left his bride and the horses. He saw there the track of cars and horses, and understood that some one had deceived the Chowree, and carried her off. He went to the court to tell what happened. At the stable yard, in front of the court, the master of the horse was seated. Jug Dev arriving there, that officer thought within himself 'This is a worthy chief.' He rose and embraced him, and asked 'Whence are 'you come?' Jug Dev said, 'I come in the hope of getting a 'loaf of bread here. I am a Purmâr Rajpoot.' The master of the horse said, 'If you can overlook these horses we may 'live together, and you shall have pay and your food.' Jug Dev's heart and thoughts were not there; but he thought the officer might introduce him, and when he promised to bring him into the king's presence, he remained with him, though much distressed in mind. However,

> One moment lessening, one moment increasing,
> Now a half-moon, now a crescent,
> Destiny has not given to the moon,
> All days alike.

He considered, 'It is bad, but what can be done.' When evening came he fed the horses. The master of the horse brought dishes for dinner from his own house; but Jug Dev had no appetite; still he pretended to eat before the officer, and returned the dish. All night he tumbled and tossed upon his bed. At last the day broke. The castellan, Doongurshee, came to the guard-house. The watchmen, paying obeisance, showed him the bundle, saying that they had it from thieves, who had run away during the night. The castellan was pleased at the capture; he said, 'Open the bundle and see

'what is in it.' The servants quickly began to do so; when they came to the third fold they saw blood. They all started, and hastening to open the bundle, they found that a man had been killed and rolled up in it. Then Doongurshee recognized the corpse, and said, 'Ah! that is surely Lâlro! how dear 'was he to my heart! he is just as he was—drest in his orna'ments.' The castellan beat his breast, and said to his servants, 'Run, get news, truly this is your young lord Lál's face.' They said, 'He is sleeping at home.' They sent to enquire of his eunuch, who said that he had gone to the courtezan, Jâmotee's house, at nine o'clock at night. Thither the men ran and enquired of the courtezan. She said he was safely asleep in the upper room. They told her to wake and call him. The maid then went and called, 'Wake the prince, Chowree, 'and send him here.' Then the Chowree angrily said, 'Wretched prostitute! the moment that father of yours came 'I killed him, tied him in a bundle, and threw him into the 'road. Have you dared to play off such a trick upon the 'daughter of a Chowra! Wretch! when the prince, my 'husband, comes to know of it, you will suffer. Other 'women may act like courtezans and have friends; but, may 'Nârâyun destroy your house! was it into my presence that 'you dared to send a Golo, a Golo fit to sit outside my door! 'was it upon me that you dared cause him to cast an eye!' Hearing this, the courtezan felt ready to expire. The servants running, told the castellan, 'Some Chowree Rajpootnee has 'killed the young lord.' Then the castellan, taking two hundred men with him, went to Jâmotee, the courtezan's house, and ascended to the upper floor. The door of the room where the Chowree was, was closed firmly; but in the back wall there was a window large enough to admit one man at a time. Placing a ladder, one of the servants ascended, and looked into the room. The Chowree struck him with her sword—his head fell into the room, and his trunk outside; in the same way she slew five or six men; but no one was able to kill her. They all began to tremble. The story got abroad, and it became known to Sidh Râj Jesingh that a trick had been played off upon a Chowree Rajpootnee, and that the castellan's son, and four or five others, had been slain by her;

also that she defended herself shut up in an upper room. The king said, 'Run quickly, and give orders that no one interfere 'with her until I come; I will be there immediately.' Sidh Râj, calling for his horse, mounted; the master of the horse and Jug Dev making obeisance. The raja was surprised when he saw Jug Dev, and thought within himself,—'that is 'a good looking chief; but I never saw him before.' Jug Dev rode before the raja, who kept looking at him all the way to Jâmotee's house. The soldiers made way among the crowd. The king ascended, followed by the master of the horse and Jug Dev. Then Jye Singh said, 'Daughter Chowree! tell 'me where is your family residence, where your father-in-'law, and who is it you are married to?' The Chowree looked and knew that it was some great chieftain; she said, 'Sire! I am the daughter of a Chowra, Beerj's sister, married 'to the younger son of Oodayâdit Purmâr, lord of Dhâr.' Then the raja said, 'Daughter Chowree! why have you slain 'my men?' she answered angrily, 'Sire! this wretch brought 'me here to deceive me, and then a Golo came to violate my 'chastity; therefore, sire! I killed him. I am a Rajpoot's 'daughter; I will kill many more before I fall. I will fight till 'I die. God will do as he pleases. The prince, my husband, too, 'is in the city.' At that moment Jug Dev, stepping forward in front of the raja, said, 'Chowree! open the door. You 'have suffered much calamity.' Then the Chowree, recognizing Jug Dev's voice, opened the door, and threw herself into his arms. The raja knew that this must be Jug Dev. Then Jye Singh said to the Chowree, 'You are my adopted 'daughter.' He called to his attendants, and said, 'Bring 'a chariot and ten maidens, and take these to a handsome 'house.' Then Doongurshee, the castellan, came up and petitioned,—'Mighty sovereign! prosperity to you! What 'order are you giving in regard to the spoiler of my house?' The king said, 'This daughter Chowree did but protect her 'chastity. When a Golo seeks to make a harlot of the 'wife or daughter of a Rajpoot, he is sure to meet with 'punishment. Was it for a bad purpose that I entrusted the 'city to your care?' Then he ordered that the fool should be dismissed from the castellanship, and forbidden the royal

presence. Soon after he confiscated his property, and punished him, turning him out of the country, and giving his house up to be plundered. Thus he made the castellan an example to others. Afterwards Sidh Râj arrested the courtezans, and cut off the noses of the whole of them, shaving their heads, and setting them upon Seetulâ's steed,[1] and thus parading them round the city, he expelled them, and gave up their houses to be plundered.

Placing the Chowree in a car, with ten damsels to wait upon her, the king established her in a handsome mansion. Jye Singh himself conducted her thither, he presented to her also an old eunuch for a steward, and stored her house with provisions for a year, and furniture in proportion to the establishment. He gave her, too, a strong doorkeeper, and whatever else was necessary for her suite, and again declared that he had adopted her for his daughter. Then, taking Jug Dev with him, he went to the court. There he seated himself and began to make various enquiries of Jug Dev. The raja was exceedingly pleased with Jug Dev; he caused him to dine with him. When nine o'clock arrived, he presented a dress of honor with bracelets, a pearl necklace, a collar, a turban ornament of jewels, and dismissed him. Jug Dev went home, and embraced the Chowree. He gave her his pearl necklace, and said to her, 'You have got us quickly introduced to the king, otherwise 'there would have been a delay of ten or twenty days. We 'must have sent our respects by some third party.' Thus they talked over the occurrences of the day, till it became night.

The Chowree, having taken the puteevrut vow, had eaten nothing, therefore she rose at three in the morning and began to prepare breakfast, and set water to boil. When all was ready she awakened Prince Jug Dev; he said, 'Why so 'quick to-day?' The Chowree represented that the raja would send for him; 'He has been talking with you, so he 'will not be without you for a minute all day. You know the 'vow I have taken, I am fasting from yesterday; do you, there-'fore, bathe, and I will then eat.' Jug Dev said she was right;

[1] Seetulâ is the goddess of the small pox, and is supposed to ride upon a donkey.

he rose and bathed, and the two breakfasted together. At that time an usher came, bringing a horse with him, and began to call out at the door. Jug Dev, taking leave of his wife, came to the door, and, mounting the horse, rode to the court. The raja, rising, received him with respect. They talked together of old stories. The king enquired, 'Will you take service 'with me?' Jug Dev answered, 'It was to earn a loaf of 'bread that I came out from home.' The raja said, 'Will 'you take a grant of land (puttâ), or will you be paid at a 'fixed rate'? Jug Dev said, 'Your Majesty, I prefer receiv-'ing fixed pay; I will serve for a thousand crowns a day. 'Place me in whatever post there is most danger; if I refuse 'I am no Rajpoot.' The king said, 'Very good;' then, calling the treasurer, he gave orders: 'Pay daily to Jug Dev 'two thousand crowns from the treasury, sixty thousand crowns 'a month—do not let there be any difficulty about this pay-'ment.' Again the king gave Jug Dev a dress of honor, and having caused a deed to be written, and affixed his seal to it, he presented it to him.

When he had dismissed him, the great chiefs of Puttun began to grumble among themselves, saying, 'Why has the 'king taken this fellow into his service?' They began to say also, 'As the sun rises he gives to a single man two thousand 'crowns! How will this one alone defeat an army of eighty 'thousand horsemen?' The raja, however, continued to be very much pleased with Jug Dev; he used to place him beside or opposite to himself, and never gave him leave without making him a present. Things went on in this way for a year. At the end of that time a son was born to Jug Dev, whom he named Jug Dhuwul; and, three years afterwards, another son was born, whom he named Beej Dhuwul. The young princes were very much petted by the king, who was fond of giving presents to children and simple people who made odd remarks in their simplicity. That king spent also a thousand a day in virtuous gifts. How shall the bard not record this, for, 'The 'spiritual preceptor's name, and the benefactor's, to remember, 'is one of the six vows'?

The elder prince had attained the age of five years and the younger that of two years. At that time the month of Bhâ-

drapud came round. The nights were darkened with clouds, the rain fell from the sky, the frogs croaked, the pea-fowl screamed, the shrill cry of the sparrow-hawk was heard, and the flashes of lightning were seen,—such was the night in Bhâdrapud, making the coward's heart tremble. On such a night as this, a noise reached the king's ear: it was like the sound of four women singing joyful songs in the eastern direction, and of four other women lamenting at a short distance from them. The king called to the guard, and asked who was awake. Jug Dev made answer—'Your majesty! have you 'any command?' The raja said, 'Jug Dev, have you not 'gone home?' The prince said, 'How could I go without 'being dismissed?' The king said, 'Well, then, go home 'now.' Jug Dev said, 'Your majesty! what order have 'you for the guard? When I have executed it I will go home.' The king enquired, 'What noises are those that we hear?' Jug Dev said, 'There are some women singing songs, and 'there are others making lamentation.' The king said, 'Bring me intelligence who is singing and who lamenting. 'In the morning let me hear about the matter.' Jug Dev, paying obeisance, putting his shield on his head, taking his sword in his hand, went out alone. The king thought within himself—'Bhâdrapud nights are dangerous, let us see whether 'he goes or not.' Thus considering, wrapping a dark dress round him, Sidh Râj followed Jug Dev. Several chiefs were on guard there: the king calling to them, asked what chief was there. Each gave his name. Then Sidh Râj said, 'The 'king desires you to bring news of the women, some of whom 'are singing and others lamenting, in the eastern direction.' One of the chiefs said, 'Let him send the man who receives 'two thousand daily, and presents also. Has he been draw- 'ing his pay all this time for nothing?' The king heard this. Some chiefs, however, said—'We will bring the king intel- 'ligence.' Then, as they lay in their pallets, they said one to another, 'My lord, get up, get up!' However, after making a noise with their arms, and causing their shields to clash they fell asleep again.

Meanwhile, Jug Dev went on towards the east, to where the singing appeared to be—Sidh Râj following him. Jug Dev

arrived at the gate of the city; the door-keeper opened the wicket and let him out. Sidh Râj said, 'I am the chief's 'henchman, let me go out too.' He, too, passed out. Jug Dev advanced to where the women were lamenting, and said to them, 'Who are you? Are you mortals, or wives of Devs, 'or are you Bhootnees, or Pretnees, or Siddhs, or Sheeko-'turs?[1] Why are you lamenting with so much grief at 'this midnight time? Tell me what calamity it is that you 'suffer.' They said, 'Approach, son Jug Dev! wherefore 'are you come here?' He said, 'I am come to enquire 'the cause of your making lamentation.' They said again, 'We are the Fates of Puttun. The stroke of ten to-morrow 'morning is the time of Sidh Râj Jesingh's death. It is on 'that account we are lamenting. Who will perform service, 'worship, presentation of gifts or sacrifices? We must needs 'lament.' The king heard what they said from where he stood in concealment. Jug Dev said, 'But who is it that is 'singing?' The Fates said, 'Go and enquire of themselves.' Jug Dev went, and paying obeisance, said, 'You sing songs 'of good news. Who is your king, and what pleases you that 'you are thus singing?' They said, 'We are the Fates of 'Delhi. We are come for Sidh Râj Jesingh: see, there is 'the chariot. That is why we sing.' Jug Dev said, 'When 'will he meet his death?' The Fates said, 'In the morn-'ing, at the time when he prepares for worship, and putting 'on the dress of yellow silk, stands on the platform, we will 'strike him so that he shall leave the body.' Then Jug Dev said, 'In these times there is no king such as Sidh Row: by 'what religious observance, gift, or vow, or by what other 'means can he escape and be released from calamity?' They said, 'There is but one way of escape for him; if any chief 'who is equal to the king will cut off his head and give it us, 'then Sidh Row Jesingh's life will be prolonged.' Jug Dev said, 'Will my head avail, that receiving it you may prolong 'Sidh Row's life and royalty? If so, I am ready.' The Fates assented. 'If you make an offering of your own life, 'Sidh Row will escape.' Then Jug Dev said, 'Give me 'leave for a few moments; I will make the matter known

[1] Various female goblins.

'to my wife, and, having obtained her assent, will return.' The Fates laughed scornfully: 'No wife would consent to 'her husband's dying; but go and ask, and return speedily.' Jug Dev turned himself homewards. Sidh Row said within himself, 'Let me see whether he will return or not, and what 'the Chowree will say.' He followed him. Jug Dev, returning, entered his house and ascended into the upper room; he embraced the Chowree. Sidh Row Jesingh heard the conversation between the husband and wife. They sat together as usual. Jug Dev said, 'Chowree! there is a matter of this 'kind.' The Chowree, joining the palms of her hands, said, 'What orders has my lord?' Then Jug Dev told her the whole story from the beginning, and said, 'I am come to ask 'your permission.' The Chowree said, 'A day of prosperity, 'a night prosperous! It was for such a day that we were 'enjoying our livelihood. Give it them: it is for the life that 'subsistence, grants, and lands are given. You have deter-'mined well; such is the duty of a Rajpoot. If Sidh Row 'live and reign, all is well; if not, what use would life be! 'But, my prince, I have one petition. Why should I sur-'vive; for six hours' existence, why should I undergo so much 'calamity?[1] I will offer my life with yours.' Jug Dev said, 'But the children, what will become of them?' The Chowree said, 'Let them be offerings at the same time.' Then Jug Dev said, 'If it be so, let us not delay.' Jug Dev took the elder child by the hand and descended; the Chowree followed him. Sidh Row Jesingh was filled with astonishment. He said, 'Well done! Rajpoot, and well done! Rajpootnee.' The four went on in front, the king following them to see what would happen. Jug Dev and the Chowree approached the Fates. They said, 'Jug Dev, is your head ready to be 'offered?' He said, 'For my head how many years will 'you grant Sidh Row?' They said, 'He shall reign twelve 'years.' Again Jug Dev asked—'The lives of the Chowree 'and the boys are of equal value with mine; for the four 'grant Sidh Row forty-eight years; I will offer the four lives.' The Fates said, 'So be it.' The Chowree first presented her

[1] She meant to convey that she would burn with her husband's corpse in any event.

first-born son. Jug Dev, drawing his sword, cut off the child's head, and prepared to offer the second boy. Then the Fates restrained him : 'Jug Dev, we have granted you the forty-'eight years, and your wife and children.' They sprinkled ambrosia upon the corpse of the elder child, and the boy rose alive. The Fates laughed and said, 'Yours and your wife's 'faithfulness we have seen to be great.' Placing their hands [1] on the children's heads, they gave them to the Chowree. They said, 'Jug Dev, for your fidelity we have granted Sidh Row 'forty-eight years of royalty.' They dismissed him. Jug Dev and the Chowree made obeisance, and, taking the two children, returned home. The king perceiving the fidelity of Jug Dev, and the Chowree's devotion to her husband, was very much delighted. He returned to his palace and lay down : as he lay he reflected in his mind : 'Well done, Jug Dev ! you have 'procured for me forty-eight years of royalty.' Sleep did not close his eyes. After four in the morning, the usher, having come, called Jug Dev. He arose and bathed, and worshipped the Supreme Lord, and taking the Divine name, made a mark on his forehead. At break of day he came to the king. Sidh Row was seated in the court when Jug Dev entered. Rising from his royal cushion, he embraced him ; placing a second cushion beside him, he with urgency compelled him to be seated thereon. He sent for the chiefs whom he had commanded to bring intelligence, and enquired of them what news they had procured during the night. They said, 'There were 'four Mows [2] in two carts ; in the one cart they had had a son 'born to them and were singing, in the other they had lost a 'son and were lamenting.' Sidh Râj, hearing the chieftains' story, laughed contemptuously and said, 'You are chieftains 'worth a hundred thousand ; great pillars you are ; if you 'cannot bring intelligence, who can bring it !' Then, turning to Jug Dev, he said, 'Do you relate the occurrences of the 'night.' Jug Dev said, 'It must be as the chieftains have 'related.' The king said again, 'Do you tell the whole,

[1] Spiritual preceptors still impose hands upon their disciples, as of old it is said was done by Devs and other supernal beings.

[2] A Mow is a person who has left home and become vagrant, in consequence of a famine or other distress.

'even as it happened; I have heard all.' Jug Dev said, 'If 'I had seen any thing, I could relate it—I do not know how 'to make up a tale.' Then, having proved Jug Dev's generosity and witnessed his fortitude, Sidh Râj Jesingh said— 'O chieftains, brothers, nobles! listen to the tale. The first 'watch this morning was the hour appointed for my death; 'but now, for forty-eight years, I enjoy royalty at the gift 'of Jug Dev. His two sons, his own, and his consort's heads 'for me he offered to the Fates; the elder child's head was 'actually offered. Beholding the valor and fidelity of this 'noble, and the devotedness of his wife, the Fates gave the 'whole back again, and presented my life also. This day 'forth I reign at the gift of Prince Jug Dev. You are telling 'falsehoods, thinking to obtain some advantage; but I saw 'this thing with my eyes, and heard it with my ears. You 'grumble at the pay given to him; but if I were to pay him 'a hundred thousand every day, or ten millions even, I could 'not get such a Rajpoot as he is.' After thus saying, he gave to Jug Dev the cocoa-nut of his elder daughter, and with it two thousand villages. For their personal expenses also he gave five hundred villages. He presented Jug Dev with bracelets, a pearl necklace, a turban ornament, and numerous jewels, and dismissed him. Jug Dev returning home, told what had happened to the Chowree. She said, 'You are a 'lord, in your female apartments there should be two or four, 'you have done well, the connection is a great one.' Then Jug Dev, discovering an auspicious day, completed the marriage. People looked upon Sidh Râj and Jug Dev as equals. Thus enjoying happiness, they passed two or three years.

In Bhoojnugger, where Raja Phool reigned, his son Lâkhâ had a son Phool, who had two daughters. Once on a time he considered that his daughters were old enough to be married, and therefore determined to find them bridegrooms. Calling his minister, he asked his advice as to sending the cocoa-nut to Sidh Râj Jesingh. The Jhârejee's cocoa-nut accordingly arrived at Puttun. Sidh Row, preparing the marriage cavalcade, took Jug Dev and other great chieftains with him, and setting out reached Bhoojnugger. They were received with

great joy, and brought into the city. Raja Phool had already been informed of Jug Dev's pedigree; the minister also refreshed his memory on the subject, saying, 'He is a great 'Rajpoot, a warrior, and a man of fortitude,—give the younger 'princess to him.' Her name was Phool Mutee: Jug Dev received the cocoa-nut for her: Sidh Row, the Solunkhee, and Jug Dev, the Purmâr, married the two Jhârejees at the house of Raja Phool. After receiving the usual presents, they were given leave, and returned to Puttun; they lived in comfort many days. At that time the usual embassy from her father's house came to take the Chowree to visit her parents; she, having obtained Jug Dev's permission, carrying the boys with her, went to her father's house.[1]

The remainder of the tale of Jug Dev is rather marvellous than interesting. The bard relates in detail how his hero laid Sidh Râj under further obligations, by fighting with and conquering a Kâl Bheiruv (or demon), who had fallen in love with his Jhârejee queen. We are also informed of the manner in which Jug Dev surpassed his master in a contest of generosity, by giving his head to Châmoondâ mother, when that Devee appeared at the court in the disguise of a bard's wife begging alms. It appears that Sidh Râj was after this angry with Jug Dev, because he had 'put him beneath his feet and 'diminished his fame in the world;' and that it was in consequence of that anger that he advanced against Dhâr. Jug Dev, upon becoming informed of this intention of the king's, determined to quit his service,—for as the proverb has it,—

Where there is a Purmâr there is Dhâr,
And where there is Dhâr there is a Purmâr.
Without Dhâr the Purmâr is nothing,
So without the Purmâr is Dhâr.

Jug Dev, therefore, returning home, took counsel with the Jhârejee. 'The king has conceived enmity against us; there 'is no advantage in remaining here any longer; we will not

[1] It is necessary to remark, in regard to the historical value of this story, that a bard would not dare to take so great a liberty with any Rajpoot house, as to assert that a marriage had occurred, if it had not really taken place. By such presumption he would draw upon himself the anger of all concerned.

'remain, though the king entreat us ; we have tried our for-'tune.' The Rânee said, 'Your fame has been spread abroad 'royally, and you have attained great honor. Do you now 'proceed home, and embrace your father and mother. I, too, 'will pay my respects to my father-in-law and mother-in-law. 'Your relations will say, "the prince has struck out a name ;" 'therefore let us examine the omens, and set out.' Then Jug Dev sent for the astrologer, and ascertaining the auspicious hour, caused his tents to be pitched outside the city. Meanwhile the Chowree, too, arrived, and embraced her husband ; they enjoyed great happiness. Jug Dev told her the whole story, and she quickly made ready to proceed. They placed all their treasure on camels, and taking with them their elephants, horses, chariots, litters, cattle, men-servants and maid-servants,—their whole household,—they set off. When the whole had arrived outside the city, Jug Dev, mounting his horse, went to the king's presence. Sidh Râj, rising, said, 'Be seated here,' but Jug Dev replied, 'Your majesty, I 'have served a long time ; you must now give me leave.' The raja was very importunate with him to remain, but Jug Dev would not consent. The ministers and officers added their persuasions, but Jug Dev continued to demand permission to retire. At last, making obeisance to the king and to the company, he withdrew. Sidh Row's daughter embraced her parents, her brothers, and maidens, and she too withdrew. Jug Dev set out from Puttun at the head of five thousand horse, before him went eight thousand armed men. Travelling stage by stage they reached Took Todâ. Messengers brought the news to the Chowrâ Raja ; they demanded a present for the news. Prince Beerj made them presents ; he caused the royal drum and instruments of music to sound. The city was adorned, and the prince went out in great pomp to meet them ; he embraced the whole company, distributing pearls. Jug Dev remained there a month. The people had heard of the events of Puttun, but the Chowree related the whole story again from beginning to end. The whole were pleased.

After a month Jug Dev took leave and proceeded to Dhâr. The news had reached that place, but they nevertheless sent messengers to announce their approach. The raja was very

much delighted: he presented to the messengers, jewels, armlets, and pearls. Two special messengers made the announcement to the Solunkhee lady. The procession of welcome was prepared; the city was adorned; Oodayâdit Raja, with litters, horses, and elephants, went out to bring them in. Jug Dev touched his father's feet; he embraced his brothers, his nephews, the chiefs, the nobles, the rajpoots, the ministers, and monied-men—every one of them; he caused his two sons to touch his father's feet. The raja was very much delighted. Many bards sung the fame of Jug Dev. Thus they entered the city, receiving salutations from all sides, attended by a great retinue, with armed men and elephants covered with armor. Jug Dev touched the feet of his mother, the Solunkhee lady; he bowed himself to the ground. His mother, laying her hands on his head, and then placing them on her own, took his sorrows upon her.[1] The three brides touched her feet. The Solunkhunee was overjoyed that she had seen her son and his wives, she said, 'I am fortunate in this world that 'I have heard of such deeds of my son with my ears, and 'seen them with my eyes.' The children sat in their grandmother's lap. Then, the raja being pleased, said, 'O son! 'you have illumined the thirty-five branches of the Purmârs. 'O son! there has been none like you, nor will there be. 'You have saved Sidh Râj and preserved his life, and taken 'the Bheiruv. You have fought with the king, too, and 'abased his pride. Well done the Solunkhunee, that she gave 'birth to you,—that she bare such a son in the world. Your 'name has become immortal.'

After this the Wâghelee lady, touching the raja's feet, began to salute Jug Dev. He, taking her by the hand, said, 'Mâjee! 'my fame is yours—I belong to your lap.' Thus the good man forces good out of evil;—

Think not of the faults of others,
Though numerous as the thorns of the acacia,
Says the dark-one; think of their virtues,—
That the tree has no thorns in its shadow.

Thus reflecting, he touched the Wâghelee's feet and em-

[1] See account of the ceremony called '*Nyoonchun*,' in the chapter on marriage ceremonies, in the Conclusion.

braced Rindhuwul; the brides, too, paid their respects to them both.

Soon after, Raja Oodâyadit suffered from disease so violently, that he felt he could not survive. He sent for all the nobles, and for Jug Dev and Rindhuwul. Before them all he said, 'I give the kingly mark to Jug Dev, and entrust him with 'the royal authority.' To Rindhuwul he assigned a hundred villages, urging him much to be obedient to Jug Dev; he also recommended Rindhuwul to Jug Dev's protection. Having thus seated Jug Dev on the throne, the raja went to Dev-lok. The Wâghelee and Solunkhunee became sutees. Raja Jug Dev ruled.

It was at the age of fifteen that he left home, and he served Sidh Raj eighteen years. After mounting the throne he reigned fifty-two years; he lived to the age of eighty-five. At last he placed Prince Jug Dhuwul on the throne, and himself went to Dev-lok. The Chowra, the Solunkhee, and the Jháreja ladies with great joy became sutees, and accompanied their lord to paradise.

Thus, concludes the bard, have I related the good tale. This story of Jug Dev's listening to, truth, absence of anger, valor, firmness, exploits, wisdom, generosity will spring up abundantly. In this world, when Rows and Rânâs[1] hear the story, their want of courage, meanness, and little-mindedness will be dispelled; they will never fall into calamity. Considering this matter, readers will peruse, poets will recite, chieftains will listen. They will receive such joy as those who dwell in the City of Immortality.

Such is the tale of the illustrious Jug Dev Purmár,—the full of valor.

[1] Royal titles.

CHAPTER IX

RÂ KHENGÂR [1]

The author of *Prubundh Chintâmunee* mentions that Sidh Râj sent an army against an Aheer Rânâ, or shepherd king, named Nowghun, which laid siege to Wurddhumân, now Wudwân, and other towns, but sustained many repulses. Sidh Râj at length set forth in person, and through the treachery of the Rânâ's sister's son, seized that prince, and put him to death. His queen gave vent to her deep grief, lamenting that she had not offered her life a sacrifice in company with Khengâr. 'Broken down is Wudwân,' she cried; 'that king is dead; 'my father's race exists no longer; desolate is my life; let 'Bhogâwo now enjoy me.'

There is here a confusion between the names of Nowghun and Khengâr, which are usually applied to two different persons, father and son, chiefs of Yâdoo race, ruling at Girnâr or Joonagurh in Soreth, of whom the latter was the opponent slain by Sidh Râj, and the husband of the princess who died at Wudwân.

Râ Khengâr's father, Râ Nowghun, says a bard, compelled the Raja of Oometa,* on the banks of the Myhee, to give him his daughter as a token of submission. Hunsrâj, the Myheero, her brother, however, declared that it was cowardly in his father to have given the lady, and that some day or other he would slay Nowghun. This he threatened publicly; and Nowghun, in return, swore that he would slay Hunsrâj, the Myheero. Nor was this the only feud that Nowghun involved himself in on account of this Rânee, for when her bridal procession was on its way to Joonagurh, and had arrived at

[1] [Rā Khengāra I was a Chudāsama rāja, descended from Grahāripu (p. 53, *note* 2, *end*) and hence a hereditary enemy of the Solaṅkis. Rā Noghan II succeeded him in 1067, and it was his son Rā Khenghāra II (1098–1125) whose adventures are here narrated. After killing him at Bagasra, Siddharāja made one Sajjana Viceroy of Junāgarh.]

Bhoowero, near Jusdun, the Raja of Bhoowero, on being told that the bride was Nowghun's, laughed, and said, that if his fort had only been finished, he would have kept her for himself. Râ Nowghun, when he was told of this, swore that he would break down the fort, and put the raja to death.

Once on a time, Sidh Râj, the Solunkhee, encountered Nowghun in Punchâl land, the border country on the Soreth side of the Null, and Sidh Râj having disarmed him, Nowghun was obliged to take grass in his mouth and make submission. Then Nowghun took an oath that he would break down the gate of Puttun.

At the same time, Sidh Râj's household bard composed a song in ridicule of Nowghun, which made the Râ so angry, that he swore again that he would split the bard's cheeks.

Râ Nowghun, however, fell sick, and his death approached without his having been able to perform either of the oaths which he had sworn. He therefore called his four sons around him, and told them that whoever of them would accomplish the four labors he had vowed to perform, should sit upon his throne. The eldest, Râeedhun, undertook to destroy the fort of Bhoowero: the Râ gave him four districts, and his descendants form the clan called Râeezâdahs.* Sher Singh, the second son, promised, in addition, that he would slay Hunsrâj, the Myheero; he also received a few villages, and was the ancestor of the Survaiyas. The third son, Chundra Singh, wore a bracelet of Umbâjees, having dedicated himself to that goddess; he agreed, beyond what his brothers had said, to break down a gate of Puttun, but declined the task of splitting the bard's cheeks, because that would be a disgraceful act; he also received a few villages, and was the ancestor of the Choodâsumâs. Khengâr, who was the youngest of all the sons, alone undertook to perform the four tasks; Râ Nowghun therefore placed him on the throne of Joonagurh in his own life-time, and soon after died.

Râ Khengâr, in his first warlike expedition, destroyed the fort of Bhoowero, and killed the raja; next he slew Hunsrâj, the Myheero; afterwards, when Sidh Râj was gone to Malwa, Khengâr, leading an army to Puttun, broke down the eastern gate. On his way back he carried off the betrothed bride of

Sidh Râj, Rânik Devee, the daughter of the Devra * Rajpoot of Kâlree, and married her. When he had performed these exploits, the household bard extolled his fame. Khengâr filled his mouth with diamonds and pearls till the bystanders cried out, 'his cheeks are split, his cheeks are split.' That was the only way, Khengâr said, of splitting a bard's cheeks ; it could not be done with a dagger.

Afterwards, Sidh Râj brought an army to the country of Joonagurh, and fought against it for twelve years without success. At length Râ Khengâr's sister's sons, Dehul and Veehul, being angry with Khengâr, went over to Sidh Râj, to whom they pointed out a subterraneous passage, by which he introduced his army into the fort. Sidh Râj slew Khengâr, and carried off Rânik Devee to Wudwân, where she became a sutee. He cut off the noses of Dehul and Veehul, and expelled them.

Rânik Devee, when she was seized by Sidh Râj, was not aware that her husband had been slain, but thought that he was a prisoner. On their arrival at Wudwân, Sidh Râj told her that he had killed her husband, and sought to induce her to marry him.[1] She, however, refused to enter his female apartments, and threatened to curse him, 'sut' having come upon her, if he did not give up the body of her husband. Sidh Râj was terrified, and caused the corpse to be given to her ; he asked, also, what expiation he could make for his offence. Rânik Devee said, 'Build me a temple in this place, and your 'throne shall stand firm, but as you have slain my children, I lay 'this curse upon you,—you shall die without a son to succeed 'you.' She then followed her husband through the flames.[2]

[1] Sidh Râj might have urged with the English Richard,—

'He that bereft thee, lady, of thy husband,
Did it to help thee to a better husband.'

'I did kill King Henry ;—
But 'twas thy beauty that provoked me.
. . . 'twas I that stabb'd young Edward :—
But 'twas thy heavenly face that set me on.'

[*King Richard III*, i. 2.]

For explanation of the expression, 'Sut having come upon her,' see the account of Sutees in the Conclusion.

[2] We find it stated in the Annals of Mewar, that Asil, the son of Bappa,

The people of Soreth are still much attached to the memory of the old Râs of Joonagurh, and a proverb is common among them, which says, that 'the mould in which Soreth land and 'Râ Khengâr were formed, has been broken, and the work-'man who made them is no more.'

The city of the Râs is approached from the south-west by a road which passes for some miles through a picturesque and highly-cultivated country, enriched with groves of mangoes, tamarinds, and other luxuriant trees. In front is seen a range of granite hills, richly clothed with underwood, which, extending north and west, occupies an extreme extent of about twelve miles. A large opening in nearly the centre of the range, called the 'Portal of Doorgâ,' discloses a beautiful valley, its vista filled by the sacred mount of Nemeenâth, the royal Girnâr, which joined to the lower range by two connecting spurs, raises far above it its bold black granite bluffs and tapering peaks, half concealed in mist and clouds.

At the entrance of this valley is situated the ancient city of Joonagurh, its low walls nearly hidden by the dense jungle around it. In the north-eastern angle, throwing its darkening shadow over 'the streak of gold,' the river Sonâ Rekhâ that glides beneath its bastions, rises the old Rajpoot citadel, the Oopurkot, the residence of Râ Khengâr and his ill-fortuned bride. This citadel is still a noble specimen of eastern fortification. Venerable from its age, and romantic from its position, its deeply excavated fosse, its numerous and massive towers, its crenellated parapets, telling of strength and asserting dignity, would, without fail, impress the beholder, were his imagination unexcited by their association with the mysterious glories of the Yâdoo race—the still shadowy line of Shree Krishn.

of Cheetore, by a daughter of the Purmâr Prince of Kalibao, near Dwarka, obtained possessions in Soreth, and founded a race called the Asil-Gehlotes. His son Beejy Pal, it is said, was slain in an attempt to wrest Cambay from Singram Dabee. One of Beejy Pal's wives died a violent death, and was prematurely delivered of a boy, named Setoo, and as, in such cases, the Hindoos suppose the spirit of the deceased to become one of the Bhoots, called Choodels, the tribe that descended from Setoo were known as the Choodels. Beej, the twelfth from Asil, obtained Sonul from his maternal uncle, Khengâr, Prince of Girnâr, but was slain by Jye Singh Dev.

From the gate of the city of Khengâr, following the river Sonâ Rekhâ towards its source, a pathway, worn by the foot of many a pilgrim, leads to the summit of Girnâr. At the foot of the mountain, the stranger passes by those venerable rocks, which are hallowed by the name of the just and benevolent Asokâ; thence, by a winding and rugged ascent of about a mile, he reaches the point where the western spur or shoulder of the mountain terminates at the foot of the scarp. For the rest of the ascent, the sacred mountain rises, an immense, bare, black, and isolated granite rock, presenting all the gigantic masses peculiar to its formation; on the summit of which, occupying a small ledge or table land, surrounded by a fort, whose wall is erected on the very verge of the scarp, stand the temples of the Jain Teerthunkurs. From the plateau occupied by the temples, a gradual ascent, amidst patches of korunder * and wild fig, leads to the point of Girnâr, where stands the shrine of Umbâvee Mâtâ. The mountain has six distinct peaks, separated by deep ravines, the highest of which is dedicated to Goruknâth, and that most remote to Kâleekâ. She it is whose rites are performed by the hideous, and, if report speak true, the cannibal Aghoree, from her patronage of whom she derives the name of the Aghoreshwuree mother. From the plains but four of these peaks are distinctly visible; and at the distance of a few miles these, though majestic individually when observed from the shrine of Goruknâth, gradually merge into the general mass which appears to form the cone of 'the Girnâr.' No detailed description need here be attempted of the architecture of the temples that rest upon the plateau of the mount of Nemeenâth. Sufficient to mention that, commanding as the sectaries do, by whom they have been erected and maintained, much of the wealth of India, they have here, as at Shutroonjye, omitted nothing which could render these monuments of their faith of surpassing magnificence.[1]

The following version of the story of Rânik Devee, was obtained from one of those itinerant musicians, called Toorees, who, standing to the class of Dhers in the same relation which the more famous bards, the Bhâts and Châruns, bear to Hindoos

[1] This description is from Tod's *Western India*, and Kittoe's Notes on Girnâr, *Journ. Ben. As. Soc.*, vii, 865.

of better caste, roam about the country subsisting upon the alms of their clients, and delighting them in return with the wild and rude tales, half prose and half verse, which they chant to the accompaniment of a species of guitar called the Sâringee :—

In Sindh land is the country of Pâwur, of which Ror Pâwur was raja. A daughter was born to him under the 'Mool' constellation. The astrologer said to Raja Ror, that whoever married a girl born in such a time as this princess would lose his throne. The raja was very sorry when he heard this, so he sent his daughter away into the forest, where a potter, named Hurmuteeo, found her and brought her up. She was so very beautiful that the Lâkhâ Phoolânee sent an embassy to demand her in marriage. The potter said he must ask his caste-fellows before he gave away his daughter. Lâkhâ threatened him with violence; and the potter, therefore, fled and went to Mujeywuree, in Soreth, where he lived with his family.

Once on a time, four household bards of Sidh Râj Jesingh, King of Puttun, named Lâlâ Bhât, Bhungud Bhât, Chunch Bhât, and Dubul Bhât, travelling in foreign countries, arrived at Mujeywuree, where they saw the beautiful daughter of the potter, Hurmuteeo. Wherever she moved she left the impress of her feet in rose colour on the ground. The Bhâts considered that the damsel would adorn the court of Sidh Râj, and that if they went to Puttun with the good news they would be sure to receive gifts from the king, so they came to Puttun, where Sidh Râj received them with great respect. He had sixteen Ranees, and he caused the Bhâts to dine with him one day at each of their houses. As they rose from dinner each day, the Bhâts looked at each other and shook their heads. Sidh Râj enquired the reason of this. The Bhâts said, 'We have seen 'your sixteen Ranees, but no one of them has all the requisites 'of a Pudmeenee.'[1] The raja said, 'You are my household 'bards, do you, therefore, travel into foreign countries and 'search for one who is a complete Pudmeenee, and, when you 'have found her, bring the proposals and fix the day of marriage.'

[1] The Hindoos say there are four classes of women:—Pudmeenee, Husteenee, Cheetrunee, and Shunkheenee, of which the first is the most perfect.

The Bhâts went off and searched in many countries without .. 'ing a complete Pudmeenee; at last they determined to return to Mujeywuree, in Soreth. Since they had visited it for the first time, the potter, Hurmuteeo, thinking within himself that, as Sidh Râj's Bhâts had seen the maiden, some difficulty would probably arise, had kept her in a concealed chamber underground. The Bhâts, when they arrived, said to him, 'Betroth your daughter to the Puttun Raja.' The potter said, 'I have no daughter.' But the Bhâts made answer that they had seen her, and that if he did not perform the ceremony of betrothal Sidh Râj would never let him live in peace. 'Besides,' they said, 'what fortune is this of yours, 'that you, a potter, should be Sidh Râj's father-in-law!' Thus between threatening and making promises, they prevailed upon the potter to make the betrothal. They further fixed the bridal day for two or three months after, and went away to Puttun, where they told the raja the whole story. Sidh Râj said he would not marry a potter's daughter, for then his house would be disgraced. The Bhâts answered,—

'As a mango-tree at one man's door
'Drops its fruit within another's garden,
'So God has caused to be done with Devuree—
'She is not of the blood of the Potter.'

Hearing this, and also their praises of her beauty, the raja was pleased, and began to prepare for the marriage. He made a bridal-pavilion, and caused Gunesh to be installed.

At the time all this happened the Râ of Joonagurh was the Choodâsumâ Râ Khengâr, whose sister had married a kinsman of Sidh Râj, but was living at Joonagurh with her two sons, Dehul and Veehul. Dehul said to his uncle one day, 'I am 'going to Mujeywuree to see it; the village has been newly 'founded in our country.' Thus taking leave he went with Veehul to Mujeywuree. Hearing the whole story about the potter's daughter they returned to Joonagurh, and related it to Râ Khengâr. 'In our districts,' they said, 'is a potter's 'daughter, who is very beautiful, and fit to adorn a royal 'court. Sidh Râj's household bards have been to see her and 'have fixed the day of her marriage with Sidh Râj. If the 'Puttun Raja take such a maiden out of our country, what

'reputation will remain to us?' The Choodâsumâ said to Dehul, 'Take my sword, and go and bring the damsel to 'court.' Dehul took the sword, and went and told the potter that he must marry his daughter to Râ Khengâr's sword.[1] The potter said that the maiden had been betrothed to the Raja of Puttun, and that the bridal procession would come from thence in a few days. If he married his daughter to Râ Khengâr, Sidh Râj would undoubtedly slay him, he said. Dehul replied, 'I take her away by force, so no harm will 'happen to you.' The potter said, 'The Puttun Raja will 'dig up Girnâr from the roots, and cast its stones in all direc-'tions. Do you, therefore, forbear to interfere with a maiden 'who is betrothed to Sidh Râj,—

'Know Jesingh Dev
'By whom Dhâr Nugger was shaken.
'Wealth that is known to be his,
'Khengâr should not lay hand on.'

Dehul sneeringly replied,—

'Fifty-two thousand, has he stabled,
'Of horses, at Gurh Girnâr.
'Why should fear the lord of Soreth,
'He of the complete army, Khengâr!'

So it was, at last, that Dehul carried off the maid by force to Râ Khengâr. Rânik Devee, descending from her chariot at Joonagurh, began to enter the outer door; she struck her foot by chance against a stone, and blood sprung forth. She sighed, and said, 'My friend! this is a very bad omen—some cala-'mity will result from this matter.'

'As she entered the first door
'She stumbled and struck her foot.
'Ah! will widowhood come to Rânik Devee,
'Or ruin to Soreth-land?'[2]

Râ Khengâr married her, the ceremony being performed with royal splendour. The Râ feasted the city of Girnâr for

[1] This is not an unusual practice, *vide* account of Marriage Ceremonies in the Conclusion.

[2] Brother, I like not this;
For many men that stumble at the threshold
Are well foretold that danger lurks within.
Third part King Henry VI., Act iv, scene 7.

three days. It happened that a hundred Wâghurees[1] of Puttun, who had come to sell earthern vessels, had made a halt outside the northern gate. They were invited together with the rest. The Wâghurees enquired, 'What rejoicing is there at 'the raja's house that we are invited?' The servant answered,—

'The white elephant of Soreth-land,
'By caste a Purmâr,
'The daughter of Raja Rolree,
'Has married Râ Khengâr.

'On this account for the last three days the raja feasts the 'town, including the Dhers. He has sent to invite you also to 'the feast. Come, therefore.' The Wâghurees considered that this maiden having been betrothed to their sovereign, had been forcibly married to Râ Khengâr, and that they, as well as Sidh Râj, being called Solunkhees, it would not be right for them to attend the marriage feast of a damsel betrothed to a Solunkhee[2] who had been carried off. They determined rather that they would go quickly to Puttun, and make the matter known there. Thus considering, hungry and thirsty, they set forth, and travelled until they arrived in Puttun Wârâ, at the town of Wâghel. Then they laid nets to catch game. In the meantime Sidh Raj's four household bards, who were on a journey, came up on horseback, and the wild bull (roz) that was in the net made its escape. The Wâghurees said 'Sire! 'we have come night and day from Joonagurh, and to-day is 'our seventh fast. Why did you drive away our roz?' The Bhâts enquired how it happened that they had fasted seven days. They said that Râ Khengâr had taken away by force their raja's betrothed bride. The Bhâts, hearing this, were much discomposed; they mounted at once, and going to Puttun, told Sidh Râj,—

'We are without master, without home,
'We are called poor Bhâts,
'We searched for and found Rânik Devee,
'Her Khengâr has snatched from us.'

Sidh Râj then called to his assistance his familiar spirit,

[1] The Waghuree is a person of very low caste whose employment is that of snaring game, &c.

[2] The narrator called himself a Solunkhee.

Bâburo Bhoot, and told him to prepare to accompany him, as he was going to Joonagurh to fight with Râ Khengâr. The king set forth and marched to Wâghel,* where he was joined by Bâburo, who had collected five thousand two hundred bhoots. At Sidh Râj's order the bhoots constructed a tank there in one night.[1] From Wâghel the army marched to Moonjpoor, and thence to Junjoowârâ,† where they found Dhândo, the headman of the shepherds, dwelling with his tribe in a collection of huts. They built there the fort and a tank. Thence they went on to Veerumgaum, where they built the Monsur tank ; thence to Wudwân, where they built the fort thence to Syelâ, where they built the fort and tank. After some days' march they arrived in the Joonagurh country where they carried on war for twelve years without being able to force their way up to Râ Khengâr's palace in Joonagurh. Minul Rânee, who was with her son at this time, practised various enchantments, but without success. At length it happened that Râ Khengâr became jealous of his nephew, Dehul, and accused him of too great intimacy with Rânik Devee. His mother informed Dehul of this fact, who said,—

'I have not killed his horses,
'I have not seen his treasures,
'I have not enjoyed Rânik Devee,
'Why then should Khengâr blame me ?'

[1] In Goozerat every ancient reservoir or religious edifice is referred, according to the religion of the person, to either Sidh Râj (under his popular name of Sudderâjee Jesung) or Sultan Mahmood Begurra, in either case assisted by Bhoots or other denizens of the spirit world. So it is with other popular heroes in other countries :

'In both France and England, old military erections, whose origin is 'forgotten, have been vulgarly attributed to Cæsar, as the most renowned 'soldier whose exploits make part of the primitive history of the country. 'Thus the Tower of London is commonly said to have been built by that 'great conqueror. "This is the way," says the Queen of the unfortunate 'Richard II. in Shakspeare,

"To Julius Cæsar's ill-erected tower."

'The Bell Tower in the lower ward of Windsor Castle is also called '"Cæsar's Tower;" although the sturdiest believer in historical 'romances cannot venture to assign its origin to the Roman conqueror. 'In France, in like manner, every thing possessing any extraordinary 'character used to be ascribed, by the credulity of former generations, 'either to the fairies, the devil, or Cæsar.'—*History of Paris.*

His mother said, 'You brought her who was betrothed to 'your father's relation, and gave her to your mother's brother, 'but he, forgetting your services, is ungratefully angry with 'you, so you should not remain in this city.' Afterwards Râ Khengâr himself told him to depart. Dehul, upon this, took his brother Veehul with him, and fled in the night. When they came to the gate of the fort they found Doodo and Humeer, two Rajpoots, on guard, who asked them whither they were going. They said that the prince expected bullocks laden with opium from Malwa, and that they were going to meet them and would return at midnight, at which time the doors must be opened to them without delay. Then the brothers went out, and came to Sidh Râj, and said to him, 'Sire! we knew not 'that you were our kinsman, and on that account we brought 'Rânik Devee to our maternal uncle, but he now accuses us 'unjustly, so we are come to you. If you will accompany us 'we will slay Râ Khengâr, and restore Rânik Devee to you.' Then, concealing seven score of soldiers in bullocks' panniers, they drove them into the fort, causing Doodo and Humeer to open the gates to them, and slaying them immediately. They pressed on to Râ Khengâr's palace, and sounded the horn. Then Khengâr came to fight—

They broke the gate and began to plunder,
They plundered Gurh Girnâr,
Doodo and Humeer they slew,
And marred the beauty of Soreth.

At this time, after many had fallen on both sides, Râ Khengâr himself was slain.

Then Dehul, taking Sidh Râj with him, went to Rânik Devee's palace, and said to her, 'Aunt, we two brothers and 'our uncle, Khengâr, are come—so open the door to us.' She did so. Rânik Devee had two sons, Mânero, who was eleven years old, and Dyegucho, who was five years of age. Sidh Râj took the latter from her, and slew him. When he attempted to seize Mânero, the boy escaped from him, and hid himself, weeping, behind his mother. She said,—

'Mânero! weep not,
'Make not red your eyes—
'To your race it were dishonour,
'Dying, recollect not your mother.'

Sidh Râj then gave orders that the boy should not be slain there. 'If Rânik Devee will not enter Puttun, I will then 'slay him.' The boy, in truth, was at last slain, but it is not known where.

Rânik Devee was brought out of the fort. At that time she saw Râ Khengâr's war-horse, and, sorrowing, said,—

'O! swift steed,
'Has your bosom not burst?
'Râ Khengâr is dead,
'Will you now visit Goozerat?'

Next she saw an elk that had belonged to Râ Khengâr; she said,—

'O! elk-lion bethink you,
'Once you were free,
'But when Khengâr died
'You lost your freedom for aye.'

She heard a pea-fowl crying, and said to it,—

'Why cry you, pea-fowl,[1]
'In the caves of Girnâr?
'Our hearts are broken—
'Our protector is gone.'

Rânik Devee came to where the corpse of Khengâr was lying—she addressed it thus,—

'Rise, lord! collect your army,
'Take your sword, Khengâr:
'This canopied-lord is over-shading
'The old fort Joonagurh.'

As she descended into the valley she took leave of her favorites, the reservoir of water, the garden, and its chumpa trees. She looked up to the mountain, and said,—

'Lofty hill, Girnâr,
'With the clouds that talkest,
'Fall now to the earth,
'For Râ Khengâr has fallen.'

When she had gone on some miles she turned back and,

[1] The cry of the pea-fowl is supposed to call lovers together.

seeing the mountain from another side, thought that it was moving to escort them; she cried,—

'Return, murderous Girnâr,
'Why should you escort your foes,
'Khengâr Râ is dead,
'Why fell you not with him.'

When she had gone very far, and the mountain had almost disappeared below the horizon, she fancied it was falling, and said,—

'Sink not my support!
'Your stones who shall upraise?
'Though the raiser has departed,
'They that survive will pay you homage.'

Dehul and Veehul had beforehand arranged with Sidh Râj that, when he had slain Râ Khengâr, he should give the throne of Joonagurh to Dehul. As he set out homewards, therefore, they reminded him of his promise. Sidh Râj, at first, said, 'Take it;' but, afterwards, he reflected, that, as the two brothers had behaved treacherously to their mother's brother, they would some day rebel and oppose him, so he slew them both.

When the train arrived at Puttunwârâ, Sidh Râj strove to console Rânik Devee, and pointed out to her several good places; she said,—

'Burned be Puttun land,
'Where animalculæ die of thirst.
'Best is the land of Soreth,
'Where the forest-beast drinks his fill.'

At length they arrived under the walls of Puttun, and made a halt there. The raja caused the inhabitants of the city to be feasted outside, and they all poured forth dressed in holiday attire. Rânik Devee would take no pleasure in the sight, but said,—

'Burned be Puttun land,
'Where short scarfs cover the women—
'Best is the land of Soreth,
'Where the woman's robe is rich and full.'

A Goozerat woman said to her, 'You have the great Sidh

Râj for your husband.' She said 'My husband! I left him in such a state as this,—

'His moustache stirred by the wind,
'His teeth glittering in the rays of the sun.
'My husband! O short-scarfed one!
'I have seen my husband thus.'

The woman asked her how she could refrain from tears. She said,—

'With drops from my eyelids,
'What need I should fill a well?
'Thinking of my Mânero's death,
'Rivers of tears course through my body.'

Thus Rânik Devee refused to be consoled in any manner. Sidh Râj treated her very respectfully, and asked her where it would be her pleasure to reside. She said she would go to Wudwân. Sidh Râj himself escorted her thither. She then informed him that she had determined upon becoming a 'sutee.' He was afraid to deny her request. A pile was prepared on the banks of the river Bhogâwo, and Rânik Devee took her seat thereon. Sidh Râj, as a last resource, said to her that, if she were a true sutee, the pile would ignite without fire. Rânik Devee knelt down, and prayed to the sun. She rose again, and said,—

'Farewell, Wudwân, city good,
'Beneath whose walls Bhogâwo flows!
'Me Râ Khengâr only enjoyed,
'Enjoy me now, husband Bhogâwo.'[1]

The wind blew so hot at this time that the pile was thereby ignited.

'Well blew the heated wind,
'By which the sands were scorched,
'As Sidh Râj stood by Bhogâwo
'To behold the truth of the Sorethyanee.'

At this time Sidh Râj threw his own scarf over Rânik

[1] It is worthy of remark, that this expression, found in a ballad orally handed down to the present day through the Toorees, is also to be met with in the *Prubundh Chintâmunee*, a Sanscrit chronicle, composed in A. D. 1305, and since shut up in a Jain monastery, far out of the reach of wandering out-caste bards. *Vide* p. 150.

Devee; she cast it back to him out of the fire, and said, 'If 'you would become my husband in another life, you must now 'burn with me.' Sidh Râj declined.

Where Rânik Devee burned, Sidh Râj erected a funeral temple. All Soreth land submitted to him; but it was the palace of Râ Khengâr, upon Girnâr, which received the marks of the sutee's hands for Rânik Devee.

The town of Wurddhumânpoor, or Wudwân, now the capital of a branch of the Jhâlâ Rajpoots, is situated in a level, cotton-growing country, within, but not far removed from, the frontier line of Soreth. Tradition assigns to it a very ancient date, and affirms its priority to the capital of Wun Râj:—

> Wulleh and Wudwân!
> Puttun city was afterwards founded.

The northern branch of the river Bhogâwo passes beneath the bastions of the town, and, without being able to force its way to the sea, or even, except in the rainy season, to unite with the southern branch that flows by Limree, it loses itself in the salt flats about the embouchure of the Sâbhermutee. A few rectangular towers, with their connecting curtains, are the only remains of the ancient fort of Wudwân; but the modern town has extended itself much around them, and the funeral temple of Rânik Devee, which must have formerly stood in the neighbourhood of the stream of Bhogâwo, is now enclosed within the walls. Of this shrine the spire, which is much ornamented and nearly resembles in its style the temple of Modheyra, alone remains. The domed ante-chamber has entirely perished. A mutilated image of Khengâr's unhappy bride still, however, occupies the adytum; and, on days of festival, arrayed in marriage attire, with the crown, the bridal-veil, and royal jewels, shares in the worship paid at other shrines in its vicinity which commemorate the virtuous devotion of wives of the house of Wudwân, who, with the princes of the Jhâlâ race, have here passed through the flames to Paradise.

CHAPTER X

SIDH RÂJ

After the death of Râ Khengâr, Sidh Râj committed the affairs of Soreth to a military officer, named Sujjun, a descendant of Jâmb or Châmpâ, the companion of Wun Râj. This minister, as Merootoong relates, devoted the royal revenue for three years to the re-edification of the temple of Nemeenâth upon Girnâr; and, on Sidh Râj's calling him to account assigned reasons so satisfactory to the king, that he was continued in his office, and entrusted particularly with the holy places of Shutroonjye and Oojâyunt. The king himself soon after visited both these sacred mountains on his return from a pilgrimage to Shree Someshwur at Dev Puttun, and made a grant of twelve villages for the worship of Rishub Dev, though envious Brahmins strove to dissuade him.

Religious controversies appear to have been carried on in the reign of Sidh Râj, not only between the followers of the Brahminical religion and those of the Jain faith, but also, and more particularly, between rival sectaries of the latter persuasion, the Digumburs and Swetâmburs, so called, the former, from their living in a state of nudity, clothed only with the atmosphere that surrounded them—the latter, from the use of white vestments. Koomood Chunder, a learned man of the former sect, who, it is said, had conquered his opponent in eighty-four religious contests, came from Kurnât-land to acquire for himself additional fame by the spiritual conquest of Goozerat. Sidh Râj, recognising him as the spiritual preceptor of his mother's father, received him with respect, and Myenul Devee herself at first warmly espoused his cause. Koomood Chunder was opposed, on the part of the Swetâmburs, by Dev Sooree, a learned monk of Kurunâwutee, and also by Hemâchârya. On the day fixed for the contest, Sidh Râj, having taken his seat upon the royal cushion, surrounded by the courtiers who were learned in religious differences, the challenger, Koomood

Chunder, made his appearance borne in a litter with a white umbrella held over him, preceded by a banner and attended by musicians. Dev Soree and Hemâchârya also presented themselves, and sat down on the same cushion opposite to their opponent. A statement of the opinions held by the disputants had been written down on a previous day, and was now read before the court as follows :—

'Koomood Chunder contends that the Kewulee, who is possessed of holy knowledge, and is on the way to attain Kyewulya, or eternal emancipation, should not eat ; that the man who wears clothes cannot attain liberation ; that females cannot attain liberation. Dev Sooree contends that the Kewulee may eat ; that the man who wears clothes, and also the woman, may attain liberation.'

Koomood Chunder was already half defeated ; the announcement of his opinions having been wisely availed of by his opponents to deprive him of the assistance of the queen mother. Myenul Devee, interesting herself on behalf of her countryman, had given instructions to those about her to facilitate his victory ; but Hemâchârya, hearing of this, sought an interview with her, and explained to her that the Digumbur's object was to deny the possibility of virtuous actions being performed by women, which notion the Swetâmbur would resolutely confute. The queen, thus informed, ceased to assist the Digumbur—'*a man ignorant of human character*.'

The opposing doctors commenced their discourses by laudations of the sovereign and of the Châlookya race. They then argued for their respective tenets. Koomood Chunder's speech was short, and delivered in broken language 'like a pigeon's' ; but Dev Sooree's eloquence was like the terrible wind, which, at the destruction of the world, will agitate the waves of the ocean. The monk of Kurnât-land was soon obliged to admit that Dev Âchârya had conquered him—he was immediately expelled the city, as a defeated disputant, by the door of bad omen.[1] Sidh Râj, on the other hand, celebrating the

[1] Such doors were elsewhere known. 'Plutarch,' says Jeremy Taylor, 'rarely well compares curious and inquisitive ears to the execrable gates of cities, out of which only malefactors, and hangmen, and tragedies pass —nothing that is chaste or holy.'

praises of the Swetâmbur champion, himself took him by the hand, and conducted him publicly to worship at the temple of Muhâ Veer, with the emblems of royalty, musical instruments, and the war-like conch-shell sounding the note of victory. The king also conferred upon the Sooree the village of Châlâ, and eleven others between the towns of Poorântej and Dehgâm, though the holy man for a long time refused to accept the gift.

The Jains at this period seem to have found it politic to express liberal sentiments in regard to other religions, though the contentions in their own body were somewhat bitter. Sidh Râj, it is said, invited the professors of different religions from all countries, and enquired of them which was the best deity, which the best scripture or 'receptacle of wisdom,' and which the best practical faith, but as each authority praised his own tenets and dispraised those held by others, the king's mind remained in a state of uncertainty,—'rocked, as it were, on a 'swinging bed,'—until at last he procured a more satisfactory answer from Hemâchârya. This monk related to the king the story of a man who having taken a potion, administered to him as an 'enthralling' charm by his wife, was metamorphosed into a bullock, but recovered his natural shape by accidentally grazing on some medicinal herbs to which Doorgâ had given the power of conferring manhood. 'As these leaves of medi-'cinal virtue,' said Hemâchârya, 'though their nature was 'unknown to the bullock that eat them, produced a happy 'result, so in this iron age men practising various religious 'services, though ignorant of their nature, may attain libera-'tion. This is certain.' Sidh Râj, being perhaps anxious to procure authority for a toleration which he practised on political grounds, expressed great satisfaction with this answer.

There can be little doubt that from the foundation of Unhilwârâ to its destruction, the religions of Shiva and of the Jain Teerthunkurs existed there together, sometimes the one and sometimes the other gaining the predominance. His pilgrimages to the shrine of Someshwur and his restoration of the temple at Shreesthul, prove that Sidh Râj professed the orthodox faith, but none of the traditions which relate to him speak of any zealous attachment to his religion. On the contrary

the author of the *Prubundh Chintâmunee* relates a story, which is not worth here introducing, for the purpose of proving 'that Sidh Râj from that day forth believed in the power of 'virtuous actions performed in former existence,' a cardinal doctrine of Hindooism upon which we must therefore conclude the king to have, at one time at least, held heretical opinions.

The gift of the town of Singhpoor, or Seehore, to Owdich Brahmins by Mool Râj Solunkhee, has already been noticed. This grant was renewed by Sidh Râj, who gave the Brahmins at the same time one hundred villages in Bâlâk-land, or the Bhâl.* After some time, however, the Brahmins, finding Seehore and its vicinity to be 'a terror-causing country,' from the number of wild beasts that then infested it, as until very lately they have continued to do, requested Sidh Râj to allow them to live in Goozerat. The king, granting their request, assigned to them the village of Âshâmbeelee on the banks of the Sâbhermutee, and remitted in their favor the transit duties on the grain which they removed from Seehore.

The Jain writers mention that the court of Sidh Râj was on one occasion visited by ministers of the barbarians, who after being terrified by a magical display, in which demon ambassadors from Vibheeshun, Raja of Lunkâ, appeared to acknowledge the royal ornament of the Solunkhee race as an incarnation of Râm, and consequently as the master of their lord, were dignified with suitable presents. We are also told in the annals of Jesulmer, that Lanja Beejiraee, the prince of that country, had, previous to his elevation to the throne, espoused a daughter of Sidh Râj, the Solunkhee, and that during the nuptial ceremonies, as the mother of the bride marked the bridegroom's forehead with the royal mark, she exclaimed, 'My son! do 'thou become the portal of the north—the barrier between us 'and the king whose power is becoming strong.'

The only date given in regard to these occurrences is that of the accession of Doosuj, Lanja Beejiraee's father, which is stated to have occurred in Sumwut, 1100, or A. D. 1044, fifty years before the accession of Sidh Râj. As Beejiraee is said to have been born when his father was 'in his old age,' a synchronism may be admitted.

Though the Mohummedans did not attempt any invasion of Goozerat during the reign of Sidh Râj, their power was sufficiently near at hand to admit of an embassy having reached his court, as well as to account for the anxiety expressed by the Queen of Unhilwârâ to erect the Bhâttee state of Jesulmer into a barrier against them on the north. We are told by Ferishta, that in the time of Sultan Musaood III, who reigned from A. D. 1098 to 1118, Hajib Toghantugeen, an officer of his government and Governor of Lahore, proceeded in command of an army across the Ganges, and carried his conquests further than any Mohummedan had hitherto done, except the great Mahmood, plundering many rich cities and temples of their wealth, with which he returned in triumph to Lahore. That city had now become in some measure the capital of the empire, since the royal house of Ghuznee, deprived of most of its territory both in Iran and Tooran, had there taken up its residence. In A. D. 1118, Lahore was held by Mohammed Bhyleem, who having been placed in that charge by Sultan Arslan, held out on the death of that prince against his brother, Beiram, by whom he was, however reduced. The Sultan having reinstated him in his government, and returned to Ghuznee, Mohammed Bhyleem strengthened the fort of Nagore, in the province of Sewalik, from whence, with an army of mercenaries, he committed great devastations in the territories of the other Indian princes. His success caused him to aspire to the throne, but the Sultan Beiram meeting him in battle at Mooltan the rebellion was quelled.

Several anecdotes are given by Merootoong connected with visits paid by Sidh Râj to Malwa subsequent to its reduction by his arms. On one occasion the king is said to have left his principal carriage, which was of too cumbersome a description for the mountain road he had to traverse, at a village named Wârâhee. On his return he found that the head-men of the village not having been able to agree upon any single person who should undertake so great a responsibility as that of preserving the royal carriage, had taken it to pieces that each might keep a part in safety. Sidh Râj, however, resented the loss of his chariot only by giving the head-men the nickname of the Booches, or simpletons, of Wârâhee,* which they long retained.

On another occasion, Sidh Râj, returning from Malwa, made a halt at the village of Oonjâ, near Unhilwârâ Puttun. Merootoong mentions that the head of the village bore the title of the king's uncle, a circumstance which may be connected with the local tradition still preserved that Myenul Devee was sheltered before her marriage by Heemâlo, the head-man of Oonjâ. This village is still, as it was in the time of Sidh Râj, one of the most prosperous in Goozerat ; it is also the head-quarters of the important cultivating caste of Kuruwâ Koonbees. Sidh Râj, in the disguise of a pilgrim from Muhârâshtra to the shrine of Somnâth, mingled with the villagers assembled in their town hall at night time, and was fortunate enough to hear warm praises bestowed upon his good qualities, his attachment to learning, his kind treatment of his servants, and the vigour with which he protected his dominions. One only fault the worthy cultivators of Oonjâ had to find with their sovereign,—' It is our misfortune that the king has ' no son to succeed him.' The next morning the heads of the village presented themselves at the royal tent for the purpose of making their obeisance ; but the king delaying his appearance, the Putels, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the officers of the court, seated themselves in a familiar manner upon the softest couches, not respecting even the cushion of royalty. Sidh Râj, however, was gifted with more bonhomie than a Rajpoot of rank usually possesses, or permits himself to evince, and the conversation of the evening before was not likely to have rendered him more than usually observant of punctilio. The head-men, therefore, were allowed to retain their position notwithstanding the amazement of the chamberlains at so astounding a violation of decorum.

At another time a force of Bheels, ' against whom no one ' could fight,' obstructed the king's return from Malwa until he was relieved of their opposition by the minister Sâmtoo, who, bringing an army against them from Goozerat, opened a passage for his sovereign.

Our materials desert us, and we therefore here take leave of the great Hindoo sovereign of Goozerat with the valedictory stanzas of his chroniclers,—

' Long live the fame of Jesul Raja, chief among the warlike

'sovereigns of the three Loks, who, destroying the name of
'king, overshadowed the world with one imperial umbrella!

'Great were the palaces, great the reservoirs, great the
'temples, great the resorts of pilgrims that Sidh Râj caused
'to be constructed. No other has formed their equals.

'Ambitious of victory, he could not endure a rival greater
'by so much as a vowel, therefore that Dharâ-nâth destroyed
'the Dhârâ-nâth.[1]

'O Suruswutee! O Ganges! abandon the pride of your
'adornments. O Rewa!* O Yumoonâ! lay aside your
'swiftness and your fruitless meanderings. The blood of
'enemies slain by the sword of the illustrious Sidh Râj has
'formed a new river. She is the maiden whom ocean now
'loves.'

As to the personal appearance of Sidh Râj, Krishnâjee gives the following information,—'He was fair in person, spare, but 'well formed, his arms as far as the wrists were dark.' Of his character Merootoong tells us that he was 'the receptacle 'of all good qualities, as great in kind actions as he was 'in war; the tree of desire to his servants.'

His generous hand was spread to all;
To friends a cloud of vernal rain;
A lion on the battling plain.

The same author, however, accuses him of lustful excess, and Hindoo tradition records with execration his intrigues with women of the sacred Brahmin caste. His indifference upon religious subjects has been already noticed. He appears to have been good humoured, and fond of unbending in his private life; and stories are told of his disguised nocturnal ramblings, and of his incognito visits to the theatre, or to the domestic entertainment. The marked feature in his character was his ambition of fame, proved not only by the warlike achievements through which he strove to win it, but also by his love of the bard, and solicitude for the preservation of his line; or, if that were impossible, of its memory. 'Of a son,' says the Brahmin chronicler, 'he was very desirous; very desirous of

[1] *Dharâ-nâth* means lord of earth; *Dhârâ-nâth*, lord of the city of Dhâr in Malwa.

'a great poet; but his hopes were unfulfilled. He caused, 'however, to be written the annals of his race.' It was this same anxiety to escape oblivion that induced Sidh Râj to strew with so liberal a hand over Soreth and Goojur Râshtra the sumptuous edifices and reservoirs, whose ruins, still remaining, excite the wonder of the rustic, and the admiration of the student of ancient history.[1]

Whatever the defects of his character may have been, it cannot be doubted that Sidh Râj is, on the whole, entitled to rank high among Hindoo monarchs as a brave, vigorous, and enterprising sovereign, and that he is rightly described by his chroniclers as 'the ornament of Goojur-land, the light of the 'Châlookya race.' The extent of his kingdom may be fixed with probability in its general features, though not with certainty, or in detail. Goozerat proper, the territory to which he succeeded as the heir of Wun Râj, was held with a firm hand, and surrounded with a girdle of fortresses of no mean extent or power. Uchulgurh and Chundrâwutee, held by his Purmâr vassals, were the outworks of Unhilwârâ on the north; Modheyra and Junjoowârâ on the west, Châmpâner and Dubhoee on the east, with other strongholds, exhibited his banner, and contained his garrisons; but the fertile country which they embraced within their arms was but the lair of the victorious lion. We cannot suppose the dominions which were held by Mool Râj or Bheem Dev I. to have been in any material point contracted during the sway of Jye Singh. His frontier must therefore be pushed forwards on the north, beyond Aboo, to the neighbourhood of Jhâlor; it must include Kutch. Soreth and Malwa, we have seen, owned his sway, and on the south his dominions extended deep into the Dekkan, where, as Merootoong relates, he excited the alarm of the King of Kollâpoor.[2] The bard Chund alludes to his wars against the

[1] See Lord Bacon's remark,—'Surely a man shall see the noblest works, 'and foundations have proceeded, from childless men, which have sought 'to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have 'failed.'

[2] The Seelhâras, or Muhâ Munduleshwurs of Kollâpoor, were among the chief hereditary feudatories of the Solunkhees of Kuleeân. Vide *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iv, pp. 4, 33, and *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, vol. iii, p. 394.

monarchs of Canouj, when 'he washed his blade in the 'Ganges'; to an alliance also between the princes of Mewar and Ujmeer to check his aim at universal conquest. An inscription in the far-famed Cheetore speaks of him as 'one 'whose frame was encased in the riches of victory, and whose 'deeds were sounded over the curtain of the earth;' while the historian of those countries bears witness to the fact that his name and exploits are recorded in the poetic annals of every state of Rajpootana.

Sidh Râj reigned forty-nine years, from A. D. 1094 to 1143.

CHAPTER XI

KOOMÂR PÂL

SIDH RÂJ leaving no son, the throne passed to the line of Kshem Râj, who was the son of Bheem Dev, by Bukoolâ Devee, and half-brother to Raja Kurun Solunkhee. Treebhoowun Pâl, the son of Dev Prusâd, and grandson of Kshem Râj, left three sons and two daughters. The sons were Myhee Pâl, Keerttee Pâl, and Koomâr Pâl; the daughters, Premul and Dewul. Premul married Kâhn Dev, a general of Jye Singh's army, and her sister was espoused by the King of Kashmeer.

The learned in the science of chiromancy, says Merootoong, had informed Sidh Râj that Koomâr Pâl was destined to be his successor. 'As he was of low origin,' however, Sidh Râj refused to acknowledge him in this capacity, and continually sought opportunity to put him to death. Koomâr Pâl fled, and adopting the dress of an ascetic, wandered for several years in foreign countries. Returning to Unhilwârâ, he took up his residence there in the Jain convent of Shree Âdeenâth. At a time when Sidh Râj was celebrating the commemorative funeral ceremonies of his father Kurun, all the ascetics were brought together in order that the king might exhibit his faith by washing their feet one by one. As he passed his hand over the foot of Koomâr Pâl, 'which was as smooth as a lotus,' Sidh Râj perceived clearly, by the upright lines and other chiromantic marks, that 'this is one who is destined to 'royalty.' By the expression of the king's face, Koomâr Pâl perceived that he was recognized; he changed his dress, and fled immediately to his native village of Deythulee, the same which Kurun Raja had granted to his ancestor, Dev Prusâd. There he was concealed from the soldiers who were sent in pursuit of him, by a potter named Âling, who placed

him in the furnace used in his trade. Koomâr Pâl, seizing an opportunity, escaped from thence, but his pursuers were close at his heels, and he would have been taken had he not again found shelter with a cultivator, who was employed in scaring the crows from the crop of grain standing in his field, and who hid him in a heap of thorny bushes collected for the purpose of fencing the field. The king's soldiers tracing the prince's footsteps to the spot, examined the field, probing even the heap of thorns in which he lay concealed with the point of a spear. Failing, however, to discover the object of their search, they here gave up the pursuit and returned home. Next day the cultivator took Koomâr Pâl out of his place of concealment, and the prince resumed his flight. As he sat under the shade of a tree to rest, after having proceeded some distance, he perceived a rat, which brought out from its hole, one by one, twenty pieces of silver. The animal having produced the whole of its store, began to replace it in the same manner in its depository. Koomâr Pâl then advanced, and took what remained of the money, and thus miraculously provided, continued his journey. As he went on, he found a Wâneeo's wife on her way, with her carriages and attendants, from her husband's to her father's house, who had halted by the wayside for refreshment. Koomâr Pâl having travelled for three days without food, and being oppressed with hunger, asked permission to join the domestics in their repast, which was courteously granted to him.

After travelling over much country, the prince at last arrived at Stumbh-Teerth or Cambay, and proceeded to the house of Oodâyun Mehtâ to ask for food. Hearing that the minister was at the Jain convent, Koomâr Pâl went thither and found Oodâyun in company with Hemâchârya. No sooner had the monk beheld the prince, than he pronounced him to be the destined king of the whole land. Koomâr Pâl, thinking only of his present poverty and danger, declared such a prediction to be incredible, but Hemâchârya renewed his assurances, and the prince vowed that if the prophecy were fulfilled he would become a follower of the Jain religion. Supplied with money and necessaries by Oodâyun Muntree, Koomâr Pâl proceeded to Malwa, and visiting the temple of Kudungeshwur, was

astonished at finding inscribed on a tablet there the following verse :—

'When there shall have been fulfilled one thousand, one hundred, and 'ninety-nine years, then will arise Koomâr Raja, who shall resemble thee, 'O ! Vikrum.'

While in Malwa, the prince received intelligence that Sidh Râj had attained another world. He determined on returning to Goozerat, but being again without the means of subsistence, he fell into many difficulties on the road, before he succeeded in reaching Unhilwârâ.

Having satisfied his hunger, with the alms supplied to him by the charity of a confectioner, Koomâr Pâl made his way to the house of his sister's husband, Kâhn Dev. Before his death Sidh Râj had called to him the ministers and officers of his court, of whom Kâhn Dev was one of the principal, and, causing them to lay their hands on his neck, compelled them to swear that they would never place Koomâr Pâl upon the throne. While, however, the ceremony was in progress, the great monarch expired. Whether he had taken the oath or not, Kâhn Dev no sooner heard of Koomâr Pâl's arrival, than coming forth out of his palace, he received him with great respect, and, giving him precedence, conducted him within. The next morning, arming some of his attendants, he took Koomâr Pâl with him to the palace. To determine who should be the king's successor, Kâhn Dev placed on the cushion of the great Sidh Râj, first one prince and then another, probably Myhee Pâl and Keerttee Pâl, the brothers of Koomâr Pâl. The first was quickly rejected ; the effeminacy of his dress exciting general disapprobation. The second prince being seated, was asked by the assembled nobles how he would govern the eighteen regions left by Jye Singh, but his reply,— 'according to your counsel and instructions,' sounded tame in the ears of chiefs accustomed to obey the vigorous voice of Sidh Râj. He was rejected, and Koomâr Pâl, seated on the throne, was called upon to answer the same enquiry. Starting to his feet, his eyes filled with martial fire, that prince half unsheathed his sword. The royal hall rang with acclamations, and Kâhn Dev, with the other nobles of Goozerat, prostrating themselves before the throne of Koomâr Pâl, while the conch-

shell and the bugle sounded, acknowledged him as the fit successor of the 'victorious lion.'

Koomâr Pâl ascended the throne in the fiftieth year of his age, in A. D. 1143, and reigned thirty-one years. His mature age, and the experience he had gained during his wanderings in foreign lands, produced a division between him and some of the old royal servants, who were thereupon dismissed from their employments. They combined together to revenge themselves by putting him to death, and had placed assassins at one of the city gates, which he was expected to enter during the night, but 'owing to the good actions that he had performed 'in former birth,' the attempt was disclosed to him in sufficient time to allow of his defeating it by choosing a different route from the one anticipated. Koomâr Pâl now caused the conspirators to be put to death. Soon after, Kâhn Dev, who had placed him on the throne, presuming upon his services and connection, as the husband of his sister, began to speak disrespectfully of the origin and former condition of Koomâr Pâl. The king remonstrating, received a haughty answer, and after a time, finding Kâhn Dev determined to continue disobedient, he caused him to be put to death. The example was a salutary one, and, from that day, all the chieftains feared to disobey the order of the king, for, 'as it is wrong to touch a lamp with 'the finger, under the idea that "It was I who first set it up; 'it will not burn me though I treat it with disrespect;" so is 'it with a monarch.'

Koomâr Pâl now conferred the office of principal minister upon Wâgbhut Dev, the son of his most ancient supporter Oodâyun Muntree; he recompensed also the potter, Âling, and others who had shielded him during his adversity. Wâhud, another son of Oodâyun's, however, who had been a principal favorite of Sidh Râj, refusing to obey Koomâr Pâl, fled to take service with the King of Nâgor, Âno, or as Meerootoong styles him, Anâk,[1] the grandson of Veesul Dev Chohân. By

[1] [Āṇāka or Arṇorāja, King of Sāmbhar, is said to have married Kumārapāla's sister and to have brought on this war by ill-treating her. He must not be confused with his namesake, the chief of Bhīmapalli and ancestor of the Vāghela line, who was a son of Kumārapāla's *aunt* (pp. 191 and 272).]

the persuasions of Wâhud, Âno was induced to attempt an invasion of Goozerat, and, with that view, approached the frontier with a large army, hoping to find many of the chieftains of the country his supporters. The Solunkhee sovereign assembled an army to oppose the enemy, and having, as he supposed, secured his own borders from any enterprise of the disaffected, or in the language of the chronicler, 'made the 'boundary land clear of thorns,' he engaged Âno. Battle was hardly joined, however, when the effects of Wâhud's intrigues were rendered apparent by the desertion of a large number of the Goozerat chieftains. Koomâr Pâl, seeing the whole of his army in confusion, ordered the driver of his elephant to single out the lord of Nâgor, who was rendered conspicuous by the royal umbrella, and to give him an opportunity of personally engaging his rival. The elephant driver accordingly strove to force his way through the army to where the Nâgor King was fighting, but the young lord, Wâhud, rushed between the two sovereigns, and was stepping from his own elephant on to the head of that which bore Koomâr Pâl, with the view of slaying the raja, when the driver, with his goad, forcing the elephant back, he fell in the midst, and was seized by the foot soldiers who surrounded the king. Koomâr Pâl then quickly advancing towards Âno, shouting defiance as he went, discharged an arrow from his bow, which struck the King of Nâgor in the face, and hurled him to the ground. The Goozerat troops pressed on, shouting 'victory!' and the rout of their enemies was soon completed.

The following is the account given by the author of *Dwyâsh-rây*, of the wars with which the reign of Koomâr Pâl opened :—

The raja of the country of a hundred thousand villages,* whose name was Ânn, when he heard of the death of Jye Sing, though he had been the servant of that monarch, now thought the time was come for making himself known ; the government of Goozerat being newly formed, and Koomâr Pâl being a feeble monarch, as he was willing to suppose. Ânn began to make friends of Wullâl, the King of Oojein, and of the rajas of the country on the west of Goozerat, holding out threats to them as well as promises. Koomâr Pâl's spies made known to him that Ânn Raja was advancing upon the western frontier of

Goozerat, with an army, among whose chieftains were several leaders 'skilled in foreign languages,' and that he had been already joined by the Raja of Kunthâgâm (Kuntkote ?) and by Châhud, a general of the Unhilwârâ army. The King of Oojein was well informed, they said, of the state of Goozerat, by traders who had been in the habit of passing to and fro between the countries; he had also concerted measures with Wullâl, the King of Malwa, who had prepared to attack Goozerat on the east, as soon as Ânn Raja should have made an advance. Koomâr Pâl was much enraged when he heard this news.

Koomâr Pâl was joined by several rajas, by Koolees also, very celebrated horsemen, and by forest tribes, who assembled from all sides. The people of Kutch, his tributaries, ranged themselves under his banners, with them came men of Sindh also. As the king advanced towards Aboo, he was joined by mountaineers, dressed in the skins of deer. The Purmâr Raja of Aboo, Vikrum Singh by name, who led the men of Jâlundhur-land (Jhâlor), followed Koomâr Pâl, esteeming that raja as his lord. Ânn Raja hearing of Koomâr Pâl's arrival, contrary to the advice of his ministers, prepared to give battle, but before his arrangements were completed the music of war was heard, and the Goozerat army appeared emerging from beneath the shadow of the mountains, the sun streaming full upon the white umbrella that was borne above the king. The soldiers of Ânn Raja shot arrows at the army of Koomâr Pâl; the King of Nagor himself seized his bow; but, though led by canopied lords, the array of the north gave way before the men of Goozerat. Ânn Raja, in person, then rushed on, and was confronted by Koomâr Pâl. 'As you were so brave 'a warrior,' said the heir of Sidh Râj, 'how is it that you 'bent the head before the victorious lion? That act proved 'your wisdom truly. Now, if I conquer you not, I shall 'tarnish the fame of Jye Singh.' The two sovereigns fought; the armies, too, joined in close encounter. Âhud led the men of Goozerat; the Marwarees followed their Muntree Gowind Râj. At last an iron shaft struck down Ânn, he fell upon the earth. His chieftains then submitted to the behests of Koomâr Pâl.

The King of Goozerat having struck Ânn such a blow, remained for several days upon the field of battle. Ânn Raja sent horses and elephants as a present to Koomâr Pâl; he proposed to give him a daughter in marriage. The king complained that Ânn had committed an offence to which pardon might well be refused, in having slain wounded men as they lay on the field; he accepted, however, the proposals of the vanquished prince, and returned to Unhilpoor.

Soon afterwards the priest of Ânn Raja's family brought to the city of Wun Râj, the Princess Julhunâ, his master's daughter, who was solemnly married to Koomâr Pâl. These festivities were scarce completed when news was brought that Veejye and Krishn, the two chieftains (Sâmunts) who had been despatched by the king to oppose Wullâl, while he in person advanced against Âno Raja, had gone over to the King of Oojein, and that that monarch was already in the territory of Goozerat and advancing upon Unhilpoor. Koomâr Pâl prepared to win fame by conquering Wullâl, as Jye Singh had won it by subduing Yushowurm. He assembled his troops and went against the King of Malwa, who was defeated and struck from his elephant in the fight.

This notice of the chronicler is confirmed by an inscription in the temple of Tej Pâl upon Mount Aboo, which records that the Purmâr chief of Uchuleshwur and Chundrâwutee, by name Yushodhuwul, 'knowing that the Châlookya Koomâr Pâl 'Râj was come to make war, fled immediately to Wullâl, the 'Lord of Malwa.' From a second inscription upon a copper plate in the Jain library at Nadole, which bears date, A. D. 1157, we learn that the great minister, Châhud Dev,[1] was in that year the adviser of the king of kings, the illustrious Koomâr Pâl Dev, who then sat on the throne of Shreemunt Unhil, and who is further described as 'the ornament of the 'line of kings, a great warrior, who by the strength of his arm 'conquered the Sâkumbhuree Raja in the place of strife.' There is some confusion in regard to the minister here alluded to. Merootoong tells us that Châhud Dev was half-brother of Oodâyun Muntree. The author of Dwyâshrây says that

[1] [Chāhad was son of Udaya, minister of Karṇa. Vāhada was his half-brother.]

Châhud joined Âno Raja; but Meerootoong only mentions that Wâhud, the son of Oodâyun, did so. This latter chieftain, we shall find, subsequently returned to his duty, and was employed by Koomâr Pâl, as it is evident that Châhud may have been before the year in which the inscription is dated, supposing him to have been in the first instance a rebel to his sovereign.

The inscription to which allusion has been made in the account of the reign of Sidh Râj, which is to be found in the temple, called Lakhun's Mundeer, at Cheetore, and bears date A. D. 1151,[1] thus speaks of Koomâr Pâl, the Solunkhee, 'What 'was he like, who by the strength of his invincible mind 'crushed all his foes; whose commands the other sovereigns of 'the earth placed on their foreheads; who compelled the lord 'of Sâkumbhuree to bow at his feet; who in person carried his 'arms to Sewaluc, making the mountain lords bow before him, 'even in the city of Salpoora?'

Sometime after these occurrences, Merootoong informs us, the Solunkhee sovereign was seated in his court, giving audience, when some bards (Mâgudhs) were admitted, who sang the praises of Mulikâ Urjoon, a king of the Konkun, to whom they gave the title of 'Father of Kings.'[2] Koomâr Pâl was very much disconcerted at this occurrence, and set himself to discover a chieftain whom he might send to destroy this Mulikâ Urjoon, 'who falsely prided himself as a four-limbed sovereign.' A warrior, named Âmbud, or Âmrâ Bhut, a son of Oodâyun Muntree's, undertook the task, and having obtained the command of an army, proceeded without halting to the Konkun. Âmbud passed with considerable difficulty a river called Kulâveenee,[3] and encamped on the opposite bank, where he was attacked and quickly routed by Mulikâ Urjoon. The defeated general returned home and encamped near the capital, wearing black clothes, covered by a black umbrella, and

[1] In Tod's *Western India*, the date is given 'S. 1207 (A. D. 1141)' by mistake.

[2] In regard to the Muhâ Munduleshwurs of Kollâpoor, see Note at page 172. [Mallikarjuṇa belonged to the Silâhâra dynasty of the Konkaṇ. His title was *Rājapitāmaha*, 'grandfather of kings,' and was ancestral. Hence he hardly deserved his punishment!]

[3] [Kâveri.]

dwelling in a black tent. Koomâr Pâl, perceiving this sombre display, enquired what force it was that was thus encamped. He was informed that it was Âmbud, the general, who, having been defeated in the Konkun, had thus returned. The king strove to console Âmbud in his humiliation, and treating him with kindness and attention, despatched him with another army, reinforced by strong chieftains, to conquer Mulikâ Urjoon.

Âmbud, arriving at the river Kulâveenee a second time, constructed a bridge or causeway, by which he cautiously passed over his army, and thus gained the opportunity of becoming the assailant. The troops of Goozerat were successful in this second encounter, and Mulikâ Urjoon himself fell by the sword of Âmbud. His capital,* also, was taken and plundered, and Âmbud, causing the authority of the Solunkhee king to be proclaimed in that country, returned to Unhilwârâ. In full assembly, he paid obeisance at the feet of his lord, Koomâr Pâl, presenting the head of Mulikâ Urjoon, the king of the Konkun, with gold, jewels, vessels of the precious metals, pearls, elephants, coined money, and other trophies. The king received him graciously, and conferred upon him the great provincial sovereign, or Munduleshwur, Mulikâ Urjoon's title of 'Father of Kings.'

The Âchârya Hemchunder fills for the future so conspicuous a place in the history of Koomâr Pâl—the king being, as it is said, 'attracted by his speech, as a wave, full of 'delight, is by the brilliancy of the moon,'—that it may be, therefore, advisable to give in this place the account of his origin, which is furnished by the monk of Wudwân. His parents, whose names were Châchig and Pâheenee, belonged to the Modh Wâneeo caste, and resided at Dhundhooka 'in 'Urddhâshtum-land,' the southern border country of Soreth and Goozerat. The father professed the orthodox Hindoo faith, the mother was 'as it were a Devee of the Jain religion.' Their son received at his birth the name of Chung Dev. When he had attained the age of eight years, Devchunder Âchârya, travelling in that part of the country, came to Dundhooka. Châchig being at this time from home, his wife was persuaded by the Âchârya, who had been much struck by the appearance of

Chung Dev, to entrust her son to his care, in order that he might receive the initiatory rite as a Jain ascetic. The Âchârya accordingly carried off the boy to his convent at Kurunâwutee. When Châchig returned from foreign parts, and heard what had happened to Chung Dĕv, he was much distressed, and vowed that he would eat no food until he had seen his son. Having ascertained the spiritual teacher's name and place of residence, he set off to Kurunâwutee. When he arrived there he went to Dev Chunder to demand his son. Chung Dev was at the house of Oodâyun Muntree, who took upon himself the task of reconciling Châchig to the step which his son wished to take, and as he succeeded therein, Chung Dev took the initiatory vow, and assumed the name of Hemchunder. He soon became famous, and having at an early age made himself acquainted with all the learning of the Hindoos, as well as of the Jains, he received from the Gooroo the title of Sooree.

Hemchunder was the author of the *Ubheedhân Chintâmunee*, the Hymns to Jin Dev (a commentary on which bears date A. D. 1292), 'a pure Yog Shâstra, containing the story of the 'sixty-three Jain heroes (Shulâkâ pooroosh), with the praise 'of the twenty passionless ones (vitrâg),' the *Dwyâshrây*, and other works.

While Koomâr Pâl was with his army in Malwa, the monk Hemchunder came to him to seek his protection on account of an outrage which had been committed by the Shaivite ascetics, on the occasion of the rejoicings[1] at his mother's funeral. 'One's 'own royalty,' was the reflection of Hemâchârya, 'or the 'subjection of the king to one's self, these are the only roads 'towards effecting an object.' The Âchârya was introduced to the king by Oodâyun Muntree; and Koomâr Pâl, recollecting the predictions and promises of Cambay, received him with great favor, and admitted him to a familiar intercourse. The Brahmins about the king were alarmed at the influence Hemchunder was gaining over him, and brought several charges against him, of which the most serious appears to have been, that he refused to worship the Sun. Hemchunder, who was of a politic character, and for a long time, at least, disposed to

[1] The devotee, whether male or female, is buried with expressions not of sorrow but of joy. See account of funerals in Conclusion.

seek toleration for his own religion, rather than to attack that of his opponents, made an answer which satisfied the king of his faith in the great deity of the Kshutrees :—'This splendid 'mansion of light I ever retain in my heart ; at the time of 'whose setting I abandon food.'[1] In accordance with the same line of policy, he strengthened his recommendations by quoting the Hindoo as well as the Jain scriptures in their support, and when, on one occasion, Koomâr Pâl consulted him as to the selection of some object on which he should expend money as a religious action, the Âchârya advised him to restore the temple of Someshwur at Dev Puttun, which was endangered 'by the strength of the ocean waves.'

This restoration is mentioned by the author of *Dwyâshrây* and is also commemorated in an inscription, found by the annalist of Rajpootana, in the temple of Bhudra Kâlee, at Dev Puttun, but which originally belonged to the shrine of Someshwur. It is dated Wullubhee Sumwut 850 (which is equivalent to Vikrum Sumwut 1225, or A. D. 1169), and contains the following narrative :—

'Bhow Vreehusputee,* a Brahmin of Canouj, left Benares 'on pilgrimage ; he reached Uwuntee and Dhârânugger, then 'ruled by Jye Singh Dev. The Purmâr prince and all his 'family elected him their gooroo, and the prince called him 'brother.

'Sidh Râj Jye Singh was universal lord when he went to 'heaven ; Koomâr Pâl succeeded to his throne ; Bhow 'Vreehusputee became the chief of his advisers. Koomâr 'Pâl was the tree of desire of the three worlds. He gave his 'seal, his wealth, and all under the command of Vreehusputee, 'and said, 'Go and repair the fallen temples of Dev Puttun.' 'Bhow Vreehusputee made them resemble Kyelâs ; he in'vited the lord of the world to see his work. When he saw, 'he dwelt on the praise of the gooroo, as he said, "My heart 'is rejoiced ; to you and your sons I give the chief place in 'my kingdom."'

When the foundations of the temple of Someshwur had been laid, the council to whom the direction of the work had been

[1] See note, pp. 11–12, on the sect called Souras.

assigned, sent 'good-news letters' to Koomâr Pâl. The king, showing the letters to Hemchunder Sooree, enquired how it might be brought about that no obstacle should occur to the completion of the work. The Sooree advised the king, that for this purpose he should take a vow to abstain either from connection with women or from the use of animal food, until the flag should be raised on the summit of the temple. The king assenting, placed water on the image of Muhâ Dev, and vowed that he would eat no animal food. Two years afterwards, the spire having been completed, Koomâr Pâl prepared to set the finial upon the temple, and to hoist the banner: he then asked the Âchârya to release him from his vow. Hemchunder said, 'Behold! in the virtue of this abstinence you are fit to appear 'before Muhâ Dev. When your pilgrimage thither shall 'have been accomplished, it will be time to throw off that 'vow.' The king was advised by the Brahmins to put Hemchunder to the test, by proposing that he should accompany the royal cortège in its pilgrimage to the temple of the lord of the moon, whose divinity, it was asserted, the Sooree did not acknowledge. Koomâr Pâl acted upon this advice; when Hemchunder, immediately assenting, exclaimed, 'What 'need of pressing the hungry man to partake of food; pil- 'grimage is the life of the ascetic; what need is there of an 'order from the king!' It was arranged that the monk should travel slowly and on foot, visiting as he went the holy places of Shutroonjye and Girnâr, and that he should join Koomâr Pâl at Dev Puttun. The king making a progress, attended by the whole of his retinue, arrived within sight of the city of Someshwur. Shree Vreehusputee, who was charged with the superintendence of the work, had advanced to this point to escort the monarch to the place prepared for his reception. Hemchunder also joined the cortège: and Koomâr Pâl, with great joy, and amidst the pomp and music of his regal state, entering the city, ascended the steps of the temple of Someshwur, and prostrated himself before the god. Hemchunder also, supported by Vreehusputee, stood at the threshold of the temple, and exclaimed:—'In the splendour 'of this shrine, Muhâ Dev, who dwells in Kyelâs, is surely 'present.' Then entering, and worshipping the sacred *ling*

in the prescribed forms, he said, 'Thou existest, whatever 'be thy place, whatever be thy time, whatever be thy name, 'of whatsoever nature thou art. Thou art he in whom is no 'guilty act, no guiltiness consequent upon the act,—one only 'God! Praise be to thee! He who has destroyed the affec-'tions, which are the seeds that produce the bud of existence, 'be he Brumhâ, be he Vishnoo, be he Shiva, to him be 'praise!' As he uttered these prayers, the king, with all his courtiers, stood gazing upon him in astonishment. Then Shree Hemâchârya fell flat on the ground, adoring Shiva in the 'staff-prostration.' The king, under Vreehusputee's directions, worshipped with great faith in the colonnades of the temple, presenting his weight in gold and a gift of elephants, and waving camphor in the *ârâtreek*.[1] The royal suite were then dismissed, and Koomâr Pâl and Hemâchârya entered alone the adytum of the temple, closing the door behind them.

Koomâr Pâl addressed Hemâchârya. 'Among so many 'religions, I am anxiously desirous to establish one religion 'which may be assented to with certainty. There is no Dev 'like Someshwur; there is no king like myself; there is no 'ascetic like you. My wealth of fortune has thus brought 'the whole three together. Do you, therefore, in the presence 'of this great Dev, point out to me, with true speech, the 'divinity who is the giver of liberation.' Hemâchârya replied, 'We have no need now of the matters that are contained 'in the Poorâns. I will bring the illustrious Someshwur in 'corporeal presence hither, that you may hear the truth from 'his own mouth.' He continued: 'Without doubt, in this 'place the Dev is concealed. We two, devoting ourselves 'immoveably to worship in the manner which the spiritual pre-'ceptor has pointed out, may cause the Dev to present himself. 'I will profoundly meditate; do you, from this wood of aloes, 'raise incense—ceasing not until the three-eyed god, appearing, 'restrains you.' They laboured both of them thus, the smoke of the incense filled the adytum, darkening the light of the lamps which were arranged around the door and the niches on the three sides. Suddenly a light beamed forth brilliant as the

[1] *Vide* account of the ceremonial of Hindoo worship in the Conclusion.

light of the sun. The king started up, dazzled by this effulgence; he shaded his eyes with his hands, and strove to recover the power of seeing. At that moment he beheld, occupying the basin in which the sacred symbol was set, the form of an ascetic, whose hair was matted on his head, of a beauty incomparable, bright as fine gold, the sight of whom mortal weakness could not endure. The king ascertained, by the touch of his hand, that this was, without doubt, the Dev, corporeally present. Prostrating himself, with great devotion, he thus addressed the god: 'Lord of the world! thus worshipping you, my eyes 'have attained their object; in kindness, therefore, giving some 'command, cause my ears also to fulfil their desire.' The face of the Dev shone as the morning after the night of bewilderment; from his mouth issued the following divine words:— 'O king! this monk is an incarnation of all the gods; he is 'without deceit; to him it is given to behold the Divinity as a 'pearl in his hand; he is acquainted with the past, the pre-'sent, and the future. The path which he shall show you, 'that understand to be, without doubt, the road to liberation.' Thus, speaking, the Dev became invisible. While the king lamented his disappearance, the monk, Hemchunder, exhaled his breath, and relaxed his meditative position. Koomâr Pâl, then, remembering what the Isht Dev had told him, abandoning the pride of royalty, bending his head before the spiritual teacher, praising him, besought him to tell what was fit to be done. In that same place Hemâchârya administered to him a vow to abstain from animal food and fermented liquor to the end of his life.

The Brahmin, Vreehusputee, as both chroniclers and inscription relate, was left in charge of the shrine of Someshwur; but, in after days, when the influence of Hemâchârya had become fully established, he was deprived for a time of his situation, for 'dispraising the Jain religion'; and only restored thereto on his making the most humble submission to the Âchârya, and procuring his intercession with Koomâr Pâl.

The king and the monk returned to Unhilpoor. There Hemâchârya instructed Koomâr Pâl in the purity which proceeded from the mouth of Jin Dev, and caused him to become great among the followers of Urhunt. Under the Âchârya's

directions, the king forbad the destruction of life for a period of fourteen years in the eighteen countries of Goozerat in which his order was obeyed. The Brahmins who offered living sacrifices in their rites, says the author of *Dwyâshrây*, were forbidden to continue the practice, and thus began to present offerings of grain. The king's order was obeyed in Pullee land also, and the ascetics who used deer-skins for their covering found it impossible to procure any. The people of Punchâl, also, who had been great destroyers of life, being subjects of Koomâr Pâl, were compelled to refrain. The trade of those who sold flesh was put a stop to, and three years' income allowed to them in compensation. The people of the countries about Benares, however, continued to sacrifice life.

One day it was reported to Koomâr Pâl, that the Khus Raja of Kedâr,* though he plundered the pilgrims by his exactions, had, nevertheless, allowed the temple of Kedâr's lord, Muhâ Dev, to fall into disrepair, so that it was becoming a ruin. The king, blaming the Khus Raja, caused his own minister to repair the temple. At another time Muhâ Dev, appearing to the king in a dream, informed him that he was pleased with his service, and had resolved to reside at Unhilpoor. The king, thereupon, built, in that city, the temple of Koomâr Pâl's lord, Muhâ Dev. He erected also at Unhilpoor a temple of Pârusnâth, named the Koomâr Veehâr, and placed therein images. At Dev Puttun he built another temple of the Jain religion, so splendid as to attract thither crowds of pilgrims.

Koomâr Pâl now assented to the twelve vows of the Jain religion. At the time of taking the third vow, the purport of which was that he would receive nothing which was not acquired by exertions of his own, the Âchârya instructed him that it was a great sin to receive into the royal treasury the property of those who died without male heirs. The king, abandoning that source of revenue, caused his people to proclaim that he had, by that act, rendered himself greater than Rughoo, Nuhoosh, or Bhurut—the kings of the golden age.[1]

[1] 'It is your wish,' says Aureng-Zebe to his father, in a letter recorded by Bernier, 'that I should adhere rigidly to the old custom, and declare 'myself heir to every person who dies in my service. We have been ac-'customed, as soon as an omrah, or rich merchant, has ceased to breathe

After these occurrences, Koomâr Pâl having collected an army at Wudwân for the purpose of chastising a chief of Soreth, whose name was Sumurshee, or Sâoosur, gave the command of it to Oodâyun Muntree. That minister, however, sustained a defeat, and was himself mortally wounded. He left to his sons, Wâg But, Wâhud, and Âmrâ Bhut, the completion of vows which he had made to erect temples at Broach and Shutroonjye. The latter task was accomplished by Wâhud, in A. D., 1155, who built near Shutroonjye the town called after himself—Wâhudpoor. Âmrâ Bhut took upon himself the construction of the temple at Broach, in which he was ultimately successful, though for a time obstructed by a sudden overflow of the river Nerbudda, which flows beneath the walls of that city. About the same time, the king himself constructed a new temple on the site of the convent, where he had been received by Oodâyun Mehta and Hemâchârya, at Cambay.

The last warlike expedition of the reign of Koomâr Pâl appears to have been one directed against the country of the hundred thousand towns. Oodâyun's son Wâhud, who had before this time, as we have seen, returned to his allegiance, was selected, on account of his knowledge of the country, to command the army. He took and destroyed a fort called Bâburânugger, and proclaimed the supremacy of Koomâr Pâl in that country. On his return he received the thanks of his sovereign, who, however, blamed him for the profuse expenditure which had accompanied his expedition. One of the inscriptions on the pillar at Delhi, called the Lât of Feeroz Shah, which is dated A. D. 1146, mentions the name of the sovereign who reigned at that date in Sâkumbhuree to have been Vigraha Râj. Another name, that of Veesul Dev, is also found on this monument ; and the translators are in doubt as to whether Vigraha Râj and Veesul Dev are the names of the

'—nay, sometimes before the vital spark has fled—to place seals on his 'coffers, to imprison and beat the servants or officers of his household, 'until they made a full disclosure of the whole property, even of the most 'inconsiderable jewel. This practice is advantageous, no doubt ; but 'can we deny its injustice and cruelty ? and should we not be rightly 'served if every omrah acted as Neiknam Khan, and if, like the Hindoo 'merchant's widow, every woman concealed her wealth ?' These two stories are given in another place by Bernier. [Ed. 1914, pp. 163–5.]

same person or of different princes, a point which they pronounce it 'impossible to determine from the tenor of the in-'scription, without further information.'[1] None of the names of the successors of Veesul Dev, the Chohân, as they are given by Chund, the Bhârot, can be certainly identified with the names found upon the monument. Âno, the grandson of Veesul Dev, we have seen opposed to Koomâr Pâl, and the prince here alluded to must be either his son Jesingh Dev, or his grandson Âno, or Ânund Dev, both which names, as well as the name Vigraha Râj, express a meaning, and may be merely epithets.[2] There is an anecdote told in the *Prubundh Chintâmunee* which is curious for the light it throws upon the disputed point, already referred to, in regard to the interpretation of the inscription on the Lât of Feeroz Shah. At another time, says the chronicler, an ambassador from the king of the country of one hundred thousand towns came to the court of Koomâr Pâl. That king enquired after the prosperity of the King of Sâmbhur. 'His name is Vishwul (holder of the universe),' said the ambassador, 'what doubt is there of his being always 'prosperous!' Kupurddee Muntree, a poet of great learning, and a favorite of Koomâr Pâl's, at this time stood beside that monarch. He said,—'The roots "*shul*" and "*shwul*" mean '"*quickly going*." Thus he is Vishwul, who flies away quickly 'like a bird (*Vi*).' The minister after this, returning home, made known the disrespect with which his master's title had been received; whereupon that raja, consulting the learned, assumed the name of Vigraha Raja. Next year the same minister making his appearance on behalf of Vigraha Raja, in the presence of Koomâr Pâl, Kupurddee explained that name to mean 'noseless Shiva and Brumh' (*vi* without, *gro* nose, *hur* Shiv, *aj* Brumh). Afterwards that king, afraid of Kupurddee's making a jest of his name, assumed the title of Kuvee Bândhuv (poet's brother).

Koomâr Pâl, having on a subsequent occasion encamped near a temple outside the walls of Unhilwârâ, with the view of leading a caravan to perform pilgrimage at Shutroonjye,

[1] Vide *As. Res.*, vii, 180.

[2] Jesingh or Jyesingh means 'victorious lion.' Ânund means 'joy.' Vigraha 'war.'

was alarmed by the intelligence that Kurun Raja of Dâhul land was advancing against him. The king took counsel with Wâg Bhut and Hemâcharya, the latter of whom pledged himself that good news would shortly arrive. Soon afterwards further messengers brought intelligence that Kurun Raja, while travelling at night on his elephant, having fallen asleep, had been caught (Absalom-like) by the branch of a sacred fig-tree, under which the animal had passed too hastily, and that he had thus been strangled. Koomâr Pâl, relieved of his fears of invasion, was then enabled to proceed with his pilgrimage. He arrived at Dhundhooka, and erected there a temple, called the 'cradle-Veehâr,' over the place of Hemâchârya's birth. Thence he proceeded to Shutroonjye, where he expended a large sum of money, under the direction of Shree Wâg Bhut, in forming a new road of approach to the sacred mountain.

At the court of Unhilwârâ, at this time, was Ânâk, or Urnorâj, a scion of the valiant race of the Solunkhees, and son of the sister of Koomâr Pâl's mother, who, in recompense of the services rendered by him to his sovereign, received a chieftainship (Sâmuntpud), and with it the town of Vyâghrapullee, or Wâghel (the tiger's city), at which place his descendants remained for many years. One day the king lay on his couch in an upper room of the palace, at the door of which the Sâmunt, Ânâk, kept guard, when he perceived that some one entered the apartment. He called, 'Who is there ?' Ânâk, stopping the intruder, whom he discovered to be a servant of his own, took him outside to enquire his message. The servant claimed largesse for the news that a son had been born to his master. Ânâk, dismissing him, returned to his post, 'his lotus face blooming with the brilliancy of the sun 'of that good intelligence.' The king enquired what had happened. Ânâk said, 'Sire ! a son has been born to you.' On his saying so, the king, after consideration, spoke as follows,—'As the keepers of the gates did not stop the servant 'who came to announce this birth, I am satisfied that the 'child will be a king in Goozerat of great virtue ; but since 'the messenger descended from this place when he told you of 'a son's having been born, he will rule in some other city,

'not in this one, and in a mansion (or "in Dhuwul-gruh").' The son, whose birth was attended by these circumstances, was named Luwun Prusâd, and his descendants subsequently appear in the history of Goozerat as the Wâghela dynasty.

Koomâr Pâl Raja having now completed the thirtieth year of his reign, the curse, which the great Sutee, the mother of Lâkho Râj, King of Kutch, had pronounced against the race of Mool Râj, began to work, and the king found himself afflicted with the pains of leprosy. At the same time Hemchunder, who had attained the age of eighty-four years, knowing that his end approached, performed the 'last worship,' and commenced a total abstinence from food, that he might anticipate the mandate of Yuma. The king expressing deep affliction on this account, Hemchunder said, 'You have yourself but six months 'more of life allotted to you; you have no son; do you too, 'therefore, perform the works that remain to be performed.' Thus, instructing his royal pupil, Hemchunder died. The king, with a mind bowed down by grief, performed the funeral rites of the great Âchârya. With the ashes of the pile, knowing them to be of incomparable purity, Koomâr Pâl and his chieftains made marks upon their foreheads. For many days the lamentation continued; and the king, abandoning all care for mundane affairs, was engrossed thenceforth in deep and devout meditation, until, at length, his life escaping by a door of the body, he passed to Paradise.

Such is the account given by the monk of Wudwân, but oral tradition, whether of the Brahmins or of the Jains, delights in assigning more romantic circumstances to the death of the great Hemchunder.

Koomâr Pâl Raja, says the tradition of the Brahminical faith, had wedded a Seesodunee Rânee, a daughter of the house of Mewâr. At the time that the sword went for her the Seesodunee heard that the raja had a vow that his wives should receive initiation into the Jain religion, at Hemâchârya's convent, before entering the palace. The Rânee, therefore, refused to go to Puttun, until satisfied that she would not be called upon to go to the Âchâryâ's convent. Upon this Koomâr Pâl's household bard, Jye Dev by name, became security to the queen, who then consented to go to Unhilpoor. Several

days after her arrival, Hemâchârya said to the raja, 'The 'Seesodunee Rânee has never come to visit me.' Koomâr Pâl told her that she must go; but she refused. The Rânee fell ill, and the bard's wives went to see her. Hearing her story, they disguised her as one of themselves, and brought her privately home to their house. At night the bards dug a hole in the wall of the city, and took the Rânee out by it to carry her home. When Koomar Pâl Raja became aware of what had happened, he mounted and set off in pursuit with two thousand horse. At the distance of fifteen miles from the fort of Eedur he came up with the fugitives. The bard said to the Rânee, 'If 'you can but enter Eedur, you are safe. I have two hundred 'horse with me; as long as a man of us remains alive no one 'shall lay hand on you.' So saying, he turned upon his pursuers; but the Rânee's courage failed her, and she slew herself in her carriage. The fight going on, and the pursuers forcing their way to the carriage, the maids cried out, 'Why struggle 'any more, the Rânee is dead?' Koomâr Pâl and the force that had accompanied him then returned home.

The bard, Jye Dev, felt that he had lost his character, and determined to die. He retired to Sidhpoor, and sent from thence letters sprinkled with red water to all his caste, by which he told them, 'The honor of our caste has been taken away; so 'let those who are ready to burn themselves with me prepare.' A heap of sugar canes was made, and those who intended to burn themselves with their wives took two canes from the heap; those who would burn alone took one each. They prepared funeral piles, both 'cheetâs' and 'jumors.'[1] The first jumor was on the banks of the Suruswutee, at Sidhpoor; the next was an arrow's flight nearer to Puttun; the last jumor was near the entrance to that city. Upon each jumor sixteen Bhâts with their wives perished. A sister's son of Jye Dev's was at Kanouj. A letter had been sent to him, but his mother, having no other son, kept it from him. However, the bard's family priest having laden bullocks with the ashes of the jumors, set out for the purpose of casting them into the Ganges. Jye Dev's nephew, who was an officer of the Raja of Kanouj, demanded

[1] 'Cheetâ' is a pile for one corpse; 'jumor' for more than one.

transit duty from the priest, supposing that he carried merchandise. The priest explained what his load was, and, on the bard's making enquiries, related to him all that had happened. The bard, collecting his family, brought them to Puttun; and he and they perished upon a number of jumors. One of the men's wives had been very lately delivered of a son—she gave the child to the priest and burned herself with her husband; and there are, to this day, living in the Puttun district, bards who trace their descent from that child.

It was, in consequence of hearing this story, that Shunkur Âchârya came to Unhilpoor Puttun, where there had been, before this, much hatred between the Brahmins and the Jain monks. The latter were, by this time, a hundred thousand in number. One day, as Koomâr Pâl Raja was passing along the market in a litter, he met a disciple of Hemâchârya's, and said to him, 'Mighty sovereign! what day of the month is this?' The day was, in fact, the last day of the dark half of the month, but the monk said, by mistake, that it was the last day of the moon-light half. Some Brahmins, who overheard what had passed, laughed, and ridiculing the monk, said, 'What does 'this shaven fellow know—to-day is the last day of the dark 'half of the month.' Koomâr Pâl hearing this, when he reached home, sent for Hemâchârya and the chief of the Brahmins. Meanwhile Hemâchârya's disciple went home to his convent, and was very much ashamed, and very sorrowful. The Âchârya asked what had happened, and, when he was informed, told the monk not to be concerned about the matter. By this time the raja's messenger had arrived, and Hemâchârya accompanied him back to the palace. Koomâr Pâl asked what the day of the month was. The Brahmin answered that it was the thirtieth; but Hemchunder declared it was the fifteenth.[1] The Brahmins said, 'Let the evening decide. If it 'be the fifteenth we shall see the full moon, and then all we 'Brahmins will banish ourselves from this kingdom; but if the 'moon fail to rise, then let the Jain monks be expelled.' Hemâchârya agreed to this proposal and returned home. He

[1] It should be observed on this story that it is sometimes very difficult, in consequence of the extra months and extra days of the month, to know what the day of the Hindoo month really is.

had a familiar Devee whom he called to his assistance, and by her contrivance an illusion was produced so that all thought the moon really had risen in the east. It was now pronounced that the Brahmins had been defeated, and that they must leave the kingdom.

At this conjuncture Shunkur Swâmee,[1] who had been attracted to Unhilpoor by the matter of the bards, made his appearance at Sidhpoor; and the Brahmins, knowing that they would have to leave the kingdom next morning, sent for him during the night, and brought him to Puttun. In the morning, Koomâr Pâl Raja called for the Brahmins, and commanded them to leave the kingdom. Shunkur Swâmee stepped forward, and said, 'What need of expelling any from the king-'dom? At nine o'clock, the ocean, quitting its boundaries, 'will swallow up the whole country.' The raja upon this, sending for Hemâchârya, asked him whether the deluge predicted by the recluse would happen. Hemâchârya denied that it would, and asserted the Jain doctrine, that the world never had been created and never would be destroyed. Shunkur Swâmee said, 'Set a water-clock, and let us see 'what will happen.' The three seated themselves beside the clock. When nine o'clock came, they ascended into an upper story of the palace, and looking out at the western window saw the sea waves rapidly advancing. On and on came the billows, until they had submerged the habitations of the city. The king and the two Âchâryas went up higher and higher, but the water still continued to rise upon them. At last they reached the seventh and uppermost story, and looking down, found that the whole city, the highest trees, and tallest spires were under water, and that nothing was visible on all sides but the surging waves. Koomâr Pâl, in great terror, turned to Shunkur Swâmee, and asked him if there were no means of escape. He said, 'A boat will come from the west, which 'will pass close to this window. Whoever jumps quickly 'into it will escape.' The three girded their loins, and prepared to get quickly into the boat. Soon a boat appeared in the distance; it drew nearer and nearer. Then Shunkur

[1] Not, as the narrator says, the first Shunkur Âchârya, but a successor to his name and authority.

Swâmee seized the king by the hand, saying, that they should assist each other into the boat. It approached the window, and the king attempted to jump in, but the Swâmee dragged him back. Hemâchârya jumped from the window. The ocean and the boat, however, were alike illusions, and he fell on the pavement below, and was crushed to death. A massacre of the monk's followers ensued, and Koomâr Pâl became a disciple of Shunkur Swâmee.

The Brahmin Âchârya occupies a distinguished place also in the Jain tradition, which we now proceed to give, and which was procured from no less an authority than the Shree Pooj, or patriarch, of the Pooneemeeo branch of that sect at Puttun, named Oomed Chundjee, or Oomed Prubh Sooree.

A Dundeeo Jogee,[1] says the Sooree, came from the Karnatic to attempt to conquer Hemâchârya by a display of his learning. He lived some time in this city (Unhilwârâ Putttun), and tried many ways of effecting his object, but all without success. Hemâchârya had two principal disciples, Râmchund and Bâlchund ; the latter of whom he liked little. Raja Koomâr Pâl was at this time employed in erecting a temple of Pârusnâth under Hemâchârya's directions. Bâlchund conceived the design of throwing obstacles in the way of the completion of this edifice. Hemâchârya had fixed the auspicious hour for enthroning the image of Pârusnâth, and employed Bâlchund to give notice of its arrival. He treacherously pointed out a wrong time, and the result was, that the temple caught fire, and was almost entirely destroyed. Hemâchârya, when he heard of this calamity, being now a very old man, was much shaken in his intellect. Koomâr Pâl came to him, and requested his advice as to rebuilding the temple. The spiritual teacher said, 'Why rebuild now ? within six 'months the periods of life allotted to you and to me will have 'come to an end.' The raja was astonished, and laid aside his design.

Soon after, Râmchund being absent from some cause, Hemâchârya sent Bâlchund to a Shrâwuk's house to get him some food. As Bâlchund returned with his food, he met the Dun-

[1] This is a disrespectful way of indicating a Brahmin ascetic (in fact, Shunkur Swâmee) as 'a Jogee with a staff.'

deeo Jogee, who asked him why he looked so sorrowful, and said that he knew his master was not kind to him, but that if Bâlchund liked, he would give him an enthralling charm. He accordingly stirred with his finger the milk that Bâlchund carried, and thus conveyed into it poison which he had concealed under the nail. The disciple returning, presented the milk to Hemâchârya, who drank it, and died. The temple never was finished, and after Hemâchârya's death, the Dundeeo began to do injury to religion.

CHAPTER XII

UJYE PÂL—BÂL MOOL RÂJ—BHEEM DEV II

In the year S. 1230 (A. D. 1174), says Merootoong Âchârya, Ujye Dev mounted the throne. Krishnâjee carries us one step further: he says,—

'On Sidh Râj's seat Koomâr Pâl
'Sat for thirty-one years.
'To him again no son was born,
'His brother's son became the lord.
'His name was Ujye Pâl,
'For three years he held the throne.'

The author of *Dwyâshrây* completes the chain by informing us that Ujye Pâl or Ujye Dev was the son of Myhee Pâl, the brother of the deceased monarch.

The successor of Koomâr Pâl commenced his reign by waging furious war upon the religious edifices constructed by the Jain-converted monarch. The chroniclers, who were of that creed, represent Ujye Dev as an insane and parricidal atheist, but even tradition has handed down no such complaint upon the part of the followers of the orthodox religion. It may therefore be suspected that the rage of the new sovereign was connected, in some degree, with a reaction against the too puritanical authorities of the faith of the Teerthunkers. Ujye Pâl himself, however, it must be admitted, displayed a fierce, ungovernable, and vindictive character. One of his first acts was that of inducing the Muntree Kupurddee, the favorite of Koomâr Pâl, to accept the office of his premier or Prudhân; but his object in so doing was, probably, that of securing the gratification of his hatred, for the Muntree had hardly assumed the duties of his office, when an accusation of attempting to make himself equal to the king was brought against him, and he was put to death by immersion in a vessel of boiling oil. Râm-

chunder, another Jain leader, and 'the author of an hundred 'compositions,' was the next victim—he was submitted to the torture, and, to escape from his sufferings, bit off his tongue, and died.

After this, says Merootoong, the chieftains, unable to endure the greatness of Âmrâ Bhut, 'the father of kings,' found an opportunity for carrying him to pay obeisance to the new sovereign. In his case too it appears to have been the profession of the Jain religion which drew down the anger of Ujye Dev. He boldly announced, 'I respect Vitrâg, he who is devoid 'of passion, as a Dev; Hemchunder, the great sage, as a spiri-'tual adviser; Koomâr Pâl, as a king.' Ujye Dev furiously denounced him as a traitor. Âmrâ Bhut, however, a soldier of reputation, was not to become the prey of the tyrant without a struggle. Having worshipped the image of Jineshwur, he armed his followers, and rushing forth from his house, attacked the royal palace, and swept away the external defences of it, as a storm sweeps away a heap of chaff. 'As he washed 'away, in the pilgrimage of the edge of the sword, the sin 'of associating with that wicked man, the Upsuras, who 'had come to behold his wondrous deeds, exclaiming, "He 'is mine! he is mine!" the warlike son of Oodâyun passed 'to Dev Lok.' The people lamented his fall, mourning him and saying, 'Other warriors may arise, but the son of Oodâyun 'having gone to Paradise, learned men have ceased to exist 'on the earth.'

The career of Ujye Dev was, however, as short as it was turbulent and blood-stained. 'In three years, three months, 'three half months, or three days, the reward of great virtue, 'or of great vice, is obtained even in this world:'—so say the Poorâns. And so it happened, that after he had reigned three years, a 'doorkeeper,' named Wyejul Dev, plunged his dagger into the heart of Ujye Pâl. 'The worms devoured the 'sinner who had broken down religious buildings. Shudder-'ing at the near approach of hell, he vanished from sight.'*

Ujye Pâl was succeeded by Mool Râj II. or Bâl Mool Râj who ascended the throne in A. D. 1177, and reigned two years. The little which is recorded of him by Merootoong may be given entire,—'His mother, named Nyekee Devee, the

'daughter of Purmurdee Raja, taking in her lap the child 'king, maintained a struggle at a hill, named Gâdurârgurh. 'By the aid of rain, called down out of its season by her 'virtue, she defeated the barbarian raja.'

Mool Râj II. was the son of Ujye Pâl. 'After whom '(Koomâr Pâl),' says an inscription [1] in the temple of Uchuleshwur upon Mount Aboo, 'Ujye Pâl reigned, whose son 'was Mool Raja: his younger brother,[2] the illustrious Bheem, 'supports the burden of the earth.'

The barbarian, to whom the Monk of Wudwân alludes, was the Mohummedan, who, after a pause of a century and a half since the time of Mahmood of Ghuznee, again appeared upon the territories of Unhilwârâ. In the year A. D. 1178, as Ferishta records, Mohammed Shahâboodeen Ghoree marched from Ghuznee to Oochâ and Mooltan, and from thence continued his route through the sandy desert to Goozerat. 'The 'Prince Bheem Dev (a lineal descendant from Brahm Dev of 'Goozerat, who opposed Mahmood Ghuzneevy), advanced 'with an army to resist the Mohummedans, and defeated them 'with great slaughter. They suffered many hardships in 'their retreat before they reached Ghuznee.' The 'illustrious 'Bheem' had not yet assumed the sovereignty, but acted as the loyal, as well as gallant, lieutenant of his sister-in-law and her royal child.

Ujye Pâl's younger brother, Bheem Dev II, called also 'Bholo,' the arrogant, or insane,* ascended the throne in A. D. 1179, and reigned thirty-six years. Merootoonga mentions that during his reign Shree Sohud Dev, the King of Malwa, advanced to the frontier of Goozerat, with the view of laying the country waste, but that he retired on receiving the following threatening

[1] Vide *As. Res.*, xvi, p. 288.

[2] Mr. Wilson in his translation of the inscription has a note here to this effect,—'Such is the usual meaning of the original term, *Anujanmá*, as it, 'however, implies merely, "born after," it may possibly signify son, a 'sense which there are some reasons for preferring.' Bheem Dev II. seems to have been in the vigour of age when Mool Râj II. died still a minor. The interpretation which makes him brother to *Ujye Pâl* would, therefore, appear to be preferable. Mr. Wilson's intention is more fully expressed in a subsequent paragraph, in which he speaks of 'Bhima, *the 'younger brother of Mula* the son of Ujaypala.'

message from Bheem,—'The Raja Mârtund, who gives splendour to the lineage of the sun, is brilliant only in the east; when 'the same sun approaches the west his splendour finds extinction.' Afterwards, says the Jain chronicler, Sohud's son, Urjoon Dev, laid Goozerat waste. These notices are fully confirmed by an inscription of Urjoon Raja of Malwa,[1] which is dated A. D. 1210, and records that Soobhutwurm (or Sohud), the father of that prince 'exercised the thundering rage of his 'angered prowess on the cities of Goozerat;' and that Urjoon Raja himself, while yet a minor, 'put Jye Singh Raja' (no doubt an allusion to the Sovereign of Unhilwârâ, the successor of the conqueror of Malwa) 'to flight even in child's play.' Another inscription, which has already been alluded to, contains a grant by Bheem Dev II., the successor of Mool Râj II., dated A. D. 1210, and describes that sovereign as 'a second 'Sidh Râj Dev, an incarnation of Nârâyun.'[2]

Though the Goozeratee chroniclers contain little information regarding the reign of Bheem Dev II. the blank is fortunately supplied by the Mohummedan historians, and also by the annalist of the rival kingdom of the Chohâns of Sâmbhur, the Bhârot Chund, in whose wild but picturesque epic no inferior place is filled by the gallant Solunkhee, the madman of Unhilwârâ. To these authorities, therefore, we now have recourse.

When Unung Pâl Râjâ was ruling in Delhi, as Chund Bhârot relates, the Kumdhuj, or Râthor, chief Veejye Pâl, prepared to attack him. Someshwur, son of Ânund Dev, then ruled in Sâmbhur. Hearing that the Kumdhuj and the Tooâr were about to engage, he considered that it was the duty of a Kshutree, under such circumstances, to cease from sitting at home. 'I will increase,' said he, 'the fame of the house of 'Âno, or attain Kyelâs, or the throne of Indra.' He sounded the royal drum, and advanced to succour Delhi. Somesh and Unung Pâl set off in company to meet the Kumdhuj, the white umbrellas borne above them. They engaged Veejye Pâl, who was wounded by Someshwur, and took to flight. Someshwur acquired great fame in Delhi from defeating the powerful

[1] Vide *Journ. Ben. As. Soc.*, v, 380. See also Note at pp. 111–12.
[2] See Note at page 65.

Kumdhuj. Unung Pâl gave him his daughter in marriage, and having formed a strict alliance with him, dismissed him with great honor. Somesh returned home to Ujmeer sounding the instruments of victory.

Unung Pâl, it appears, had no son. Of his two daughters, one, named Kumulâ-Devee, was married to Someshwur, of Ujmeer; the other, named Roop Soonduree, to Jye Chund Râthor, King of Kanouj, who was the son of Veejye Pâl, by the daughter of Unung Pâl's father's sister. By the Tooâr princess, Someshwur had the celebrated Prutheerâj, who united the thrones of Ujmeer and Delhi, and after a romantic struggle, fell before the Mohummedan. 'In Kanouj, Ghuznee, and 'Unhilpoor,' says Chund, 'the angel of death began to 'shout the day that Prutheerâj was born.' Prutheerâj had a sister named Preethâ, who was married by her father Somesh to Sumur Singh, the Râwur of Cheetor.

In these times, Raja Bholo Bheem Dev was the ornament of Unhilpoor, in Goojur-land. He was like the deep ocean in power; he led an invincible four-limbed army; the three Loks sought the protection of the Châlook Râee; many fort-lords served him; he possessed ships that sailed to Sindh; his military posts were in the land of Dhârâ. Umur Singh Shewuro, the Jain monk, was a servant of Bheem Dev, he who, by the compelling charm, drew to him men, women, and Devs.* Among the Yâduvs of Parkur, and the Shodâs, all, he burned the houses of the Brahmins, and expelled them from the country. He wandered in Malwa, in Pullee-land,† also, and in the land of Aboo.

Jeytshee Purmâr[1] at this time ruled at Aboo. He had a son named Sulukh, and a daughter Eechenee Koomâree, who was very beautiful, and praised by every one. Bheem Dev formed the desire of marrying her, he listened to every one that spoke of Aboo, or of the daughter of the Purmâr, whether the speech were false or true; his dreams were full of visions of Eechenee. He sent Umur Singh to Aboo to demand the hand of the Purmâr princess; but she was already betrothed

[1] [Jaitśi Parmâra, or Mahârâva Śrī Jayatsīhadeva, was a Parmāra chief of Abu, c. A. D. 1183, a vassal of Aṇahilvāḍa. See the Bhīnmāl Inscription VI, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, i, p. 474.]

to the son of the Chohân. The ambassador of Bheem Dev was so informed, he answered, 'O mountain lord! Bholo 'Veer, the Châlook, having heard of Eechenee, forgets her 'not; he demands that you betroth her to him; if you give her 'to the Chohân he will cast you from the battlements of Aboo-'gurh; for him to contend with the Purmâr, is, as it were, 'for Urjoon to make war with the wretched.' Jeytshee heard the Prudhân with respect; he entertained him for five days honorably, considering with his ministers what answer should be given. At last the son of Jeyt arose, grasping his sword, 'If my land were sought,' he said, 'I would give it; but 'Bholo Bheem has adopted the Jain religion, he is full of 'treacheries, of charms of compelling, and fascinating, and 'enthralling. It is by the aid of these he has seized upon so 'much territory; he knows not a northern foe.' Jeytshee also spoke,—'In the land of Muroo there are nine millions of 'good warriors, eighteen royal seats belong to Aboo-gurh. 'The lord of the Sâmunts will be my ally. Can none of these 'protect me? Then he who covered Pureeksheet in his 'mother's womb, who saved the children from the burning 'jungle, who succoured his parents and slew his uncle, who 'sheltered Vruj from the rain, raising the mountain Gowur-'dhun, that Gokul Dev, Shree Krishn, will protect me.[1] It 'is well to maintain my royalty, or else to die.' With this answer he dismissed the ministers of Bheem.

To five of his kinsmen Jeytshee entrusted Aboo. He said to his son, 'Let us seek assistance from the Chohân.' Writing a letter with his own hand, he sent to hasten the marriage of Eechenee with the son of Someshwur,—'Sulukh's sister, 'Jeyt's daughter, Bholo Bheem demands—"Leave Aboo '"desolate," he says, "or give me Eechenee in marriage." Shall 'the jackal, then, take the lion's share? He plunders my pro-'perty; my herdsmen daily vent their complaints; my subjects 'are impoverished.' The Purmâr was well received by the Chohân. Prutheerâj, sending to Delhi, made known that he was about to go with Sulukh to fight against Bheem. The son

[1] For all these and many other exploits of Krishn, see *Prem Sâgar*, of which a translation has been published by Professor Eastwick (Madden, Leadenhall-street, 1851).

of Somesh set forth—he prepared to accompany Sulukh Purmâr home.

When Bholo Bheem heard of these occurrences, it was as if some one had struck him on the face. He sent for his ministers, and bade them instantly prepare; he caused the drums of war to sound. 'Who is this that lays hold on the sleeping 'lion? Who is this that seeks to take the jewel from the head 'of the earth-supporting serpent? Who is this that thrusts his 'hand into the bosom of the angel of death? That wishes to 'protect the Châlook's fugitive?' As he thus spoke, Bholo Bheem trembled with warlike rage. From Puttun he sent orders in all directions—to Kutch, and to Soreth. Clouds of dust darkened the horizon; a vast army assembled from all sides; there came the Lord of Girnâr; Lohâno the Kutâree also; Veer Dev (or Veer Dhuwulung) the Wâghela; Râm Purmâr; the Lord of Perumbh; Râning the Jhâlâ; Shodâ Sârung Dev; Gung the Dâbhee; Umer Singh Shewuro, was there; Châchig, also, the Jain Muntreshwur. Bholo Bheem arrived at Aboo, and pitched his tents; he surrounded the fort on all sides. The armies of the Purmâr and the Châlook joined battle; for many days the contest raged; Sulukh and Jeyt at length gave back; but fighting as they retired, they reddened the earth with blood. Bheem pressed on, he beheld Uchuleshwur; the Purmârs fled to Muroo-land, they left the fort to the Châlook; he ascended triumphantly to the summit of Aboo.

At this time a common enemy, whose presence might have stanched these feuds among the Rajpoot princes, hung like a thunder-cloud above their heads. 'This land,' said Shahab-ood-deen, the Ghoree, 'is the property neither of Hindoo nor 'of Mlechh, but of him who can hold it with the sword.' Bheem Dev, however, well deserving his title of Bholo, or madman, refused to listen to the dictates of prudence, though some were not wanting, even among his own chieftains, whose advice, had it been adopted, might have obviated or at least delayed the approaching fall of India. The Gohil chief of Perumbh urged that the war should cease. 'The Purmâr 'has committed no offence,' said he; 'if he will restore the 'slender-waisted one, it is enough; let us consider to effect 'this object.' 'At times of fighting,' said Râning the Jhâlâ,

'matters which relate to war alone should be considered, other 'disputes are out of place. Let us take heed lest an enmity 'with the shah should arise.' Veer Dev, the Wâghela, said, 'We should come to an understanding with the Chohân, and 'unite against the sultan. In fight, destroying him, we shall 'obtain much territory and great fame.' 'What you have 'said is true,' whispered Umur Singh Shewuro; 'but it will 'not be agreeable to Bheem.' The raja himself was determined to follow up his feud at all costs. 'If a Rajpoot,' said he, 'once brook an insult, he is worthy of every reproach; he 'incurs the guilt of a thousand sins; he falls into hell, and 'who shall lift him up? A Rajpoot must seek release from 'transmigration with his sword, destiny has so ordered it. 'The Purmâr and the Chohân are called great warriors among 'the Hindoos; when I have stripped the Chohân of all his 'possessions, I will then go against the Ghoree.' The Bholo Râj, swearing a mighty oath, ordered the drums to sound.

Then the Chohân was attacked on both sides; the Lord of Sâmbhur seemed like a drum between the Ghoree and the Goojur. Against his Hindoo enemies he appealed to Bhuwânee: 'O Doorgâ! the Jain religion has seized all things, do you 'seize these treacherous ones. No one respects the honor of 'kings; the truthfulness of Sâmunts has been destroyed; 'where the speech of the Veds was, where the Shuktee's book,[1] 'there the Jain talks treacherously. O Châmoondâ! grasp'ing a mighty sword, protect me; O Kâlee! with a counte'nance like that of the angel of death at the time of the 'conflagration of the world, destroy these Jains—destroy them, 'thou who art the conqueror of sins, the protector of gods, 'the terrifier of demons. Be victorious, be victorious!' Chund, the Bhârot, himself led a night attack upon the Goozerat troops, and by the aid of Doorgâ obtained great success, though that night the Châlook's army stood like a fort of iron, though elephants went the rounds, and the Jhâlâs mounted guard, who had defeated the Jhârejas and had plundered Kutch and Punchâl. In the confusion of the night Bheem's troops slew each other; and though the king himself rushed

[1] The Book of Doorgâ, see account of the Festival of Nine Nights in the Conclusion.

into the fight, and when his elephant was slain and his sword broken, still fought desperately, armed only with a dagger, he was at last obliged to retreat, having suffered a heavy loss.

A force was now left to watch the movements of Bheem, and the main body of the Chohân army advanced against the sultan, whom also they defeated.

Bheem Dev had an uncle, Sârung Dev, who, at his death, left seven sons,—Pertâp Singh, Uree Singh, Gokuldâs, Gowind, Huree Singh, Shyâm, and Bhugwân. They were brave warriors, and had slain Rân (or Râning), the most powerful of the Jhâlâs. For some reason, which is unexplained, the sons of Sârung Dev had gone into outlawry against their cousin, Bheem Raja, and lived in the hills of Soreth, plundering the Yâduv's country. They became at length so formidable, that Bheem was compelled to advance against them in person. He encamped on the bank of a river, and his elephant was bathing in it, when it was put to death, and the driver also slain by Pertâp Singh and Uree Singh. This insult stung Bheem, never very tolerant of such, to the quick, and he declared, that though he had previously purposed merely to seize them, he would now esteem it no fault to put them to death. When the brothers were made aware of this threat, they thought it was high time to quit Goozerat, and accordingly fled for shelter to the young Prutheerâj, who gave them grants of villages (puttâs) and other presents, and treated them with great respect. Once on a time, however, when the son of Someshwur was seated on his throne among his Sâmunts, shining as the new moon surrounded by stars, Pertâp Singh Solunkhee and his brothers paid obeisance to Prutheerâj. The Muhâ Bhârut was the theme of conversation, and warlike deeds of the Chohâns were recited. Pertâp Singh, as the tale was told, put his hand on his moustache. Kun, the Chohân, the uncle of Prutheerâj, saw it; he fired at the supposed insult. Drawing out his sword, the devourer of many a life, he cut Pertâp Singh through the body. The Solunkhee fell dead. Uree Singh and his brothers enraged sought revenge; the followers of the Solunkhees also forced their way into the hall. The Prince Prutheerâj rising, retired within the palace. The fight now raged as furiously as a forest conflagra-

tion ; the Solunkhees fell upon Kun like moths rushing to the flame of a lamp. For an hour the sword moved, and the tooth of Yuma [1] plied its trade. The brothers of Pertâp, following each other, pierced the mansion of the sun. The brother of Somesh, raging like Fate, slew the seven brothers of Bheem, and was victorious. His rage was appeased.

Prutheerâj, when he heard of the matter, was angry with Kun. 'Why did you act thus,' he said ; 'all will say that 'the Chohân called the Châlook to his house and slew him.' For three days the shops were closed in the city of Ujmeer. 'Alas ! alas !' sounded everywhere—a river of blood flowed in the public street. 'Well done, the Châlook !' sang Chund, the giver of fame, 'well done to his father and mother ; not 'even in thought did he attempt flight.'

The story was wafted to a distance as perfume by the wind. Châlook Bheem heard that the Chohân had slain the sons of Sârung ; he was inflamed with grief and anger. He wrote to the Chohân, demanding an opportunity for revenge ; the Chohân agreed to accept the challenge. Bheem proposed to his officers to advance at once upon Ujmeer ; but Veer, the Prudhân, counselled him to remain until the rainy season should close. Bheem assented, determining to attack the Chohân in the season of cold. Time passed away, and the rage of the Châlook abated.

From this point the Bhârot loses sight of Goozerat, while he describes how Prutheerâj mounted the throne of Delhi on the retirement of Unung Pâl to Bhudreek-âshrum ; how the young hero more than once defeated the Ghoree Shah ; how he carried off Shushee Vrittâ, Princess of Devgeeree and affianced bride of Jyechund of Kanouj, having defeated that powerful monarch ; and how he performed many other exploits worthy of a Rajpoot Rolando. At length, however, he returns to Bheem, and his many causes of quarrel with the Chohân sovereigns ; and from henceforth, for a time, it is purposed to follow the bard more closely than before, in order that as much as possible of the style of the Rajpoot epic may be conveyed to the reader.

[1] A curved dagger, called Yum-dunt, Jumdud, or Jumbeea.

The Goojur-land Châlook, Bheem-like, Bheem the very strong, no one could press upon his limits, great was his fame. Someshwur of Sâmbhur in his heart rankled, Prutheerâj, the Lord of Delhi, was as a fire within him. Collecting his ministers, he asked their advice; he prepared a four-limbed army.[1] 'Now will I take his land, the enemy crushing; I 'will make a rule under one umbrella.' For Rânik Dev, the Jhâlâ prince, sent the Châlook sovereign—his mind he opened to him, greatly excited, very hot, as if heated with fire. The good warriors all he summoned together. 'Let us quickly 'prepare to start; as the young elephant blows the dust from 'off the ground, so let us destroy the Chohân's country; as 'the Bheel treats the mouse's nest, so let us treat the land 'of Sâmbhur.' He summoned Kunuk, the prince; he summoned Rânik Râj; Chourâsim Jesingh, Veer Dhuwulung Dev he sent for; he sent for Sârung Mukwâna. Rankling with the ancient feud, the Châlook spoke with his mouth. 'The Bheels 'and Kâtees in the field are very valorous; victory and fame 'without doubt we shall obtain. Let us, warrior-like, take 'our revenge. Words of war are pleasing to my heart; 'valour obtains liberation in a moment; liberation which, with 'much pain of body, the ascetic attains, dwelling in bee-haunted 'caves, with penances sad in summer, winter, and rains.' Bheem set his warriors in motion. 'We will fight with the 'Chohân as Râhoo fights with Chundra.[2] Abandoning the 'hope of life, let us fight, then shall we obtain land; he who 'regards life as the unbroken grain which a Sutee scatters on 'all sides without fear, he it is who obtains land.' From hither and thither the army collected, as a river fed by dependent streams. Elephants many were with the warriors; horses, too, that seemed as if they flew on wings. The noise of the elephants was as the roaring of waters, or of the clouds of the monsoon driven together by the winds. The good warriors seemed full of joy, smiling as at sunset smiles the

[1] A four-limbed army consists of cavalry, infantry, elephants, and chariots.

[2] Hindoos suppose eclipses of the moon to be occasioned by the conflicts which Chundra, the Moon-God, has to sustain against his implacable enemy, the demon Râhoo.

ocean; they had no thought of property or home; their thought was always of Brumh. They were eager to fight in company with their sovereign, as a wife is eager to burn in company with her lord. From all sides the terrible army increased, as clouds rise from the horizon. The umbrella shaded the head of Bheem—he thirsted to drink of the stream of war. Bheels of terrible form composed his van; black as *kâjul*[1] they passed along, bearing bows in their hands. Behind them came a line of elephants, with whose roar the forests and mountains re-echoed; their bells sounded, their necklaces rang; they seemed like mountains in motion. As they went, they broke down trees; their tusks glittered like a line of cranes; the earth shook beneath them. Foot soldiers, armed with shields, followed them, forming battalions. Beholding the warriors, men doubted whether ocean had not overflowed its banks. Heaven, earth, and hell trembled—such was the pride of the army.

When the troops arrived in Someshwur's territories, the inhabitants left their houses, and fled; the country was plundered. Hearing the cry of his subjects, Som mounted his horse, ready as a Sutee to attend her lord. Prutheerâj, the very angry, he caused to remain at Delhi; Sâmunts he took with him,—Prusung the Keechee * Row, Jâm the Yâduv, Dev Râj, Bhân Bhâttee the slayer of enemies, Oodeeg Bâhoo, Bhulee Bhudra; Kyemâs, too, accompanied Som. Bathing, presenting gifts, muttering his beads in prayer to the Isht Dev, his eyes wide open, his face expanded with joy as a lotus by the light of the morning, Som prepared to lead an army without end in number. Kun Chohân was with him, Jesingh Dev immovable in battle as a mountain. The earth shook, the serpent was distressed with the weight of his burden, the Châlook approached, the Sâmbhur Raja heard the news; he caused the great instruments of war to sound. Seeing Som's army, the heart of the enemy became lame.

The armies joined battle,—Som, desirous of fight, and Bheem, that never turned back in war. The shields of the soldiers, swung from side to side, seemed like the new tobacco

[1] *Kâjal* is the lamp-black with which women stain their eyelids.

leaves shaken by the wind. Kun commenced the fight; the drums sounded; swords began to rattle; a terrible pestilence arose; for three hours arrows and other missiles rained upon Kun; at last, turning their steps backwards, Bheem's force fled; such strength did Kun exhibit, his sword flashing like lightning. Very proud ones he seized, and dashed to the ground, as the wind dashes trees; many steeds he made riderless; appeasing the hunger of the angel of death, he thinned the army of Bheem. The Fates came thither; their drums began to rattle; they danced, and, cup in hand, were joyful; the flesh-eaters were satisfied with food.

Someshwur Chohân and Bheem fought a terrible fight; the earth was struck with fear; it seemed as if mountain strove with mountain; corpse fell upon corpse, a river of blood flowed; the earth was drenched with it as if with rain. Excited with the wine of war the warriors fought with well-watered weapons. Life mingled with life; not an Upsura remained without a bridegroom; many on both sides were wounded, yet no one left the field or fled. On the right of his friends, Yâdoo Jâm raged as if to destroy the world; against him came Khengâr, like a flame of fire on the earth, in the mud of honor they were both entangled; they fought like two bulls in rage. The elephants that were struck down by them seemed black mountains, from which flowed rivulets of gore. The gods and demons and the snakes of hell, seeing them, were delighted. From the heavens descended a rain of flowers.

On the left the strong Bhuleebhudra fought, seated on a white elephant; his horses, too, were white; great was the noise of bells and bell-necklaces.

Someshwur himself rushed on; he beheld the Lord of Goozerat with such eyes as Moochkoond's were when he was awakened from sleep.[1] Arrows flew between the two sovereigns,

[1] After Krishn had slain Kuns, Jurâsindh, the father-in-law of that king, made many ineffectual attempts to drive the incarnate god from Muthoora. At length he brought with him Kâl Yumun, who compelled Krishn to fly, and pursued him to his retreat on the mountain of Girnâr in Soreth. In that place Moochkoond Raja was sleeping, who, fatigued with unparalleled exertions in favor of the sages, had procured from them the

as charms fly, in a contest between Vrechusputee and Shookra. Two protectors of regions were the kings ; two canopied lords ; two shielded men ; before them both sounded the royal drums ; both were of many titles ; both the boundaries of Hindoos ; both warriors' sons. The field of battle seemed like a dark and stormy night in the rains when a conflagration rages in the mountains. The noise of the music woke Muhâ Dev from his meditative abstraction ; he began to clap his hands and dance, and to string a necklace of heads ; Nârd,* too was delighted. The Upsurâs, seated in their cars in the sky, strove with each other ; the Yukshes and Gundhurvs looked on in amaze at the strange sight, supposing that the time of the destruction of the world drew near. The soldiers who fell in this battle-pilgrimage passed to Vyekoonth. Someshwur Chohân, the warrior, fell in this field, hacked to pieces. His Sâmunts knew that he had certainly fallen, valiantly fighting, his body covered with blood. Many of them passed with him to emancipation from terrestrial things. The field had been one equal to that of the Bhârut. Somesh went to the lord of the moon (Som) ; his body returned to its elements. The Châlook stayed his hand. 'Victory ! victory !' sounded upon earth. 'Alas ! alas !' among the Devs, for Someshwur winning liberation had forestalled them.

Raja Prutheerâj heard of the battle ; he recalled the remains of his army. For the sake of his father he presented sixteen

promise that he should slumber undisturbed, or at least that a flame of fire from his eyes should destroy any person who dared to awaken him. Krishn arriving at the place, spread a cloth over Moochkoond as he lay, and Kâl Yumun coming thither, and supposing the sleeper to be his enemy, struck him with his foot, and snatched the cloth from off him. Moochkoond awoke, and Kâl perished. Krishn after this promised Moochkoond that he should be reborn once more, and serve him in an eminent manner, and should then attain to emancipation from the world. See this story in the 52nd chapter of the *Prem Sâgur*. It is commonly believed in Goozerat that Nurshee Mehta, the poet of Joonagurh, was the promised incarnation of Moochkoond. Nurshee was a Wurnuggur Nâgur Brahmin, and was the first of that powerful caste who deserted the worship of Muhâ Dev for that of Shree Krishn, on which account he suffered much persecution. He is said to have lived about five hundred years ago, and his compositions are still among the most popular in the language of his native country. [For Kâl Yumun read Kāla Yavana.]

lump offerings;[1] for twelve days and nights he lay on the earth; he swallowed food but once in the day; he avoided the society of his wives. Many gifts he presented to Brahmins, greater than any has ever given in all his life, or ever will give. Eight thousand cows he presented, with rich housings, with gilded horns and hoofs, each cow adorned with heavy ornaments of gold. The remainder of the sixteen gifts also he presented. He determined on taking revenge for his father. He vowed a vow that he would wear no turban. 'Killing the Châlook Bheem, I will take my father from his 'entrails;' so he said again and again. 'Shame to him who 'does not revenge his father.' The raja's eyes were red with rage; he was very angry.[2] He prepared an army to execute his purpose of revenge, but determined first to take his seat on the throne, and then to go to the war. Prutheerâj called for Brahmins skilled in the usages of kings, religious, capable of performing sacrifices and other ceremonies; like Brumh, knowing how to destroy sin, scient of the past, the present, and the future. These commenced to perform, in a splendid manner, expiatory ceremonies for Somesh; they offered sacrifice. The king presented gifts that should ensure success in warring in another's country; he offered a thousand silver coins, a thousand gold coins, with great respect. In the prescribed manner, at Nigumbodh, where Yoodishteer received initiatory rites, Prutheerâj's royal unction was performed. The women sung their solemn hymns,—they, whose eyes were like the deer's, around whose necks were garlands of flowers, whose faces were round as the moon, whose throats were slender as the koil's.[3] The cry of 'Conquer! Conquer! Prutheerâj,' sounded. It seemed as if Indra were assuming the throne of the celestial city. The dress of Eechenee was tied in a knot with his; they shone like the King of Heaven and his spouse. Four kinds of wealth were given to the Sâmunts, money, elephants, cars, horses. The courtiers offered the king pre-

[1] For explanation of this and many previous allusions, we must refer our readers to the Conclusion.

[2] Besides, I met Lord Bigot, and Lord Salisbury,
With eyes as red as new-enkindled fire.
King John, Act iv, Scene 2.

[3] The koil is the black or Indian cuckoo [kokilâ, *Eudynamys Orientalis*].

sents. Kun Chohân gave an elephant; he made the first royal mark upon the head of Prutheerâj; Neerdur Râthor made the second; afterwards the other warriors. White horse-hair fans waved over the head of Prutheerâj, as the rays of the sun shining behind the moon—Prutheerâj, the mighty warrior, who captured, and released the sultan. A golden staff supported the white umbrella which shaded the raja's head. With sacrifices the evil influences of the unpropitious constellations were averted; the subjects made their obeisance; great joy reigned.

In the heart of Prutheerâj, Bheem continually rankled; his rage was like fire not to be extinguished but by the death of his foe. 'Bheem slew Someshwur! Huree! Huree!'[1] Thus with his mouth he kept muttering among his warriors. He suffered great pain. The Purmâr remonstrated with him. 'Do not sorrow for your father; he whose body is cut to 'pieces by the edge of the sword increases his fame, and goes 'to Soor Lok. This is the true religion of a Kshutree.' Said Sindh Purmâr: 'Hear my words! make desolate Goojur-land; 'Somesh dwelling in Paradise will be pleased. What of the 'Châlook—even the sultan's land trembles at your name.' Prutheerâj said: 'Having bathed, I have offered lump offer-'ings; I swore an oath that I would be revenged for my 'father; when I make Bheem prisoner, I will demand Somesh 'from him; I will give pleasure to Yogeenees, Veers, and 'Vyetâls.' Prutheerâj slept. At sun-rise the warriors assembled; the raja called for Kun Chohân; when he came, the assembly rose, joining the palms of their hands, for Kun bore the title of 'lord of men.' Night and day wearing his eyes bandaged, his body like a thunderbolt, he resembled a chained tiger. Jâm the Yâduv came; Bhulee Bhudra; Koorumbh Dev, whom many rajas served; Chund Poondeer came; Ututhye Chohân, like the Pânduv Bheem; Lunguree Râee, in time of battle a fire; Gowind Row Gahilot came, the conqueror of others' territory; great and small, all the Sâmunts came, and seated themselves in the royal court. Chund, the Wurdye, also came, whom kind Doorgâ Devee assists. Prutheerâj thus

[1] Huree is a name of Vishnoo, as Hur is of Shiva.

addressed them all, 'To take revenge for Somesh, let us pre-'pare an army, and fight with the Goojur, king of men; let 'us dig up the Châlook from the roots. Bheem has filled his 'measure till it brims over, that in fight he has conquered 'Someshwur. Let us destroy the Châlook race even from 'the wombs of women. In whatever place he has a terrible 'forest retreat, let us dig it up. If I do not so, then the 'Brahmin has not given me the name of Prutheeraj.'[1] The Sâmunts, all of them, assented to what he said; they sent for the astrologer-king. 'When the conjunction of the stars is 'good we will advance, so that our work may be successful.' The sage came and examined the signs. 'If you set forth 'immediately, you will, without doubt, have victory.' Jug-jyotee,* the astrologer, encouraged the raja, saying, 'The con-'junction is most favorable; you will gain the victory, and 'secure your revenge; the heavenly mansions are well 'situated; at this time you may effect whatever you have it 'in your heart to accomplish. The fatal sign stands opposed 'to the enemy,—were he a Dev even, he would perish.' The Chohân raja was pleased with what Jugjyotee said,—'You 'shall bind Bheem and conquer Goozerat. This I swear. If, 'in such a season as this, the task cannot be accomplished, I 'will henceforth abandon the teaching of the stars.'

The Chohân summoned his troops; at the appointed hour the drum sounded. He led his troops outside the city; at a place where large trees were—where the ground was powerful —he encamped. Devs and Dytes shouted victory! When it became morning, troops arrived at Sâmbhur from all sides; they encamped about the Chohân. War music roared; the five kinds of instruments sounded. With his army Prutheerâj advanced to destroy the houses of Goozerat. The spies of Bheem conveyed to him the intelligence, that the warlike Chohân advanced with sixty-four thousand warriors, his army rolling onwards as the billows of the ocean roll. They told also of the Chohân's vow, and how that Kun and Gowind Râee had sworn placing water on the head of Muhâ Dev. 'Let us, 'therefore, O raja! make preparations for meeting him with

[1] Which means 'king of earth.'

'the sword.' Bheem was very angry, the muscles of his frame quivered, his eyes became red, he called for all the royal ministers, and bade them prepare for war. From province to province the order travelled ; many rajas mounted and came ; two thousand men, mounted on blood horses, armed with bows and arrows, with hand-tubes and fire-ball-tubes ;* from Kutch, three thousand strong men, their horses covered with armour ; one thousand and five hundred from Soreth ; from Kâkârej came Kolees, such as never missed their mark ; from Jhâlâwar came the Jhâlâ, who turned not back in fight, ever desirous of war ; Moochkoond, the Kâwâ chief, mounted, of whose mounting hearing the whole country was wont to fly ; from Kâteewar came the Kâtee Prince, whose enemies, neither night nor day, find any rest ; the troops of other districts, small and large (who could count them ?), assembled—the whole array of the land of Goojur. The Sâmbhur spy informed Prutheerâj that the army of the Châlook got ready, roaring as roars the ocean. 'He has a hundred thousand soldiers, a number 'not to be estimated, of elephants a thousand. I have seen 'this with my eyes.' Prutheerâj said, 'If Bheem will meet 'me in battle, I will destroy them as fire in the hot season, 'with the wind's aid, consumes a forest. I will then call my-'self Prutheerâj, when I shall have ripped up the belly of 'Bheem, and taken from it my father.'

Evening came on ; they pitched their tents on the ground on which they stood ; food was supplied to them ; they lay down, some near, some further off. Kyemâs lay near the raja, armed with a sword. Sleep subdued them, as religious meditation is subdued by fascinating bewilderment. Kun, also, was near the raja ; Jeyt and Sulukh, the chiefs of Aboo ; Poondeer and Dâheem ; Châmoond ; Raja Humeer ; Sârung, the valiant Koorumbh ; Puhâr, the Toonwur ; Lohâno ; Lunguree Raja. When one watch of the night remained, they determined to follow the chase. The Sâmunts were sad ; they said, 'No living thing is moving here—our work will not be successful.' At this moment they heard the cry of an animal. 'Listen,' said Kun, 'this creature prophesies what is about to happen ; to-'morrow morning there will be a mighty battle.' All the Sâmunts were astonished, they wondered how the battle should

take place in the morning. Kun said, ' The omen that preceded ' the death of Someshwur has happened to Bheem. If the raja ' make use of this omen, even the angel of death could not ' withstand him.' As they thus conversed the sun arose, the warriors paid obeisance to Nârâyun ; as the lotus does, so did they receive pleasure from beholding the sun. Another good omen here occurred, and soon a third. The Sâmunts said, ' To-day there will certainly be a battle, within an hour there ' will be a terrible fight.' Prutheerâj said, ' It is needless to ' look for omens—the day of battle is the day of pleasure to ' the warrior. The soul of a man we see not, whether he be ' alive or dead ; fame, too, comes and goes ; so Destiny has ' ordained. They who are defeated may claim to be as Door- ' yodhun, they who conquer as the Pânduvs ; therefore think ' not of omens. We will give up not a needle's point of ' ground, we will make a fight such as the Bhârut. There is ' no end to omens—they come and go—let us advance ! ' At the raja's order the Sâmunts raised their war-cry here and there. The instruments of war sounded ; cymbals, drums, curved horns, some near, some far off ; the bells and the necklaces of elephants sounded ; horses neighed ; the army put itself in motion. Stage by stage they advanced to destroy the land of Puttun, to fall upon the enemy as meteors fall upon the earth. Sixty-four thousand were they in number ; the serpent began to be weary of his burden.* Prutheerâj used the horse-hair fans ; he gave the royal umbrella to Kun, his kinsman ; making Kun the marshal, he committed to him the van ; next came Prutheerâj in person ; Neerdur followed him ; then came the Purmâr. As the astrologer rolling up the scroll does not again unroll it, so, advancing stage by stage, they left the love of life behind them. On went the Chohân warrior, whose hands are like the hands of a Dev, who is terrible to his foe.

In the territory of Bheem Dev fear arose ; from the jungle and the lesser villages, as coveys of game birds, the people began to fly away ; the dust that arose obscured the road. On moved the army like a river's flood ; the horses, slowly moving, seemed like cranes, or, urged to speed, leaped like deer ; spears, swords, javelin-heads glittered in the sun. Prutheerâj sent forward Chund that he might demand an opportunity of revenge

from the Châlook. To the capital of Goozerat went Chund; a net and a ladder he took with him—a spade, a lamp, and an elephant's goad; in his hand he carried a trident. To the court of the Châlook he went; people crowded together to see the wonder. Chund came to Bholo Bheem; he announced that the Sâmbhur Raja had arrived. 'O Bhât!' said Bheem, 'tell us quickly what mean you by these strange signs.' Chund replied, 'It is the order of Prutheerâj that you are to 'be seized with this net if you take the water, or with this 'ladder if you fly into the air; with this spade you are to be 'dug up if you seek the lower regions of the earth; with this 'lamp your course is to be followed if you attempt to escape 'through the darkness. This goad is to bring Bheem into 'subjection; this trident to slay him. Wheresoever the sun 'shines, should you seek to escape, Prutheerâj will pursue 'you.' Bheem replied, 'I will slay him who threatens; I, 'Bheem, the terrible in fight, whom many men fear. Be not 'haughty, but be modest, and reflect on what was done before.' Chund said, 'If a mouse at any time conquered a cat, if a 'vulture ever danced on the head of the sacred swan, if a deer 'ever equalled in fight a lion, if a frog ever attained fame 'fighting with a snake—all this has been by some unaccount-'able freak of fortune. Do not let it be attempted to repeat 'such things frequently. Can a lamp be compared to the fire 'that consumes the forests which clothe the mountains?' Bheem said, 'The sons of Bhâts may fight with words, as 'demons fight with abuse, or brothers, sharing their inheri-'tance, with fists; but this feud of Someshwur must be fought 'out to the death. Tell the Sâmbhur Raja that a coward 'might tremble at his threats.'

Chund, hearing this answer, rose somewhat confused; his eyes were red with rage. He returned quickly to Prutheerâj, and, with the view of enraging him, told him all that had occurred. Said the Bhât, 'Bholo Bheem told me, "You are 'doing what a frog does when it treads upon the tail of a snake 'that is reposing, and wakens it." The Goojur Lord-of-men 'advances with a four-limbed army. I saw the troops as I came 'along. What I spoke the king did not attend to. I showed 'him the lamp, the net, the spade. He asked what hidden

'matter was there; why Kyemâs, who is skilled as a minister, 'was not sent with me; or Châmoond Rây, or Kun, the 'clever; why the Lord of Sâmbhur came not himself. "Many '"times have I fought," said Bheem, "procuring victory for 'Goozerat. Do not suppose me to be such as the rajas you 'have conquered. I have slain a thousand such as the King 'of Sâmbhur." When I heard this I announced to Bheem 'that the Chohân advanced with a four-limbed army.'

Prutheerâj called Neerdur Raja to him; he took him by the hand and said, 'Among all these warriors you are the chief; 'you are of ancient race, and valorous as were your ancestors. 'Though a Dev or an angel fought with you, you could subdue 'him: you exhibit strength in war such as belonged to 'the sons of Pândoo. Retain no love for this earth; think 'of heaven, and with your Sâmunts fight with one mind.' Neerdur answered, 'Our Sâmunts are capable of destroying 'the enemy like grass. Remember, O Prutheerâj! you are 'of Dânuv race; it is through your splendour that your 'warriors are strong. Kun, in youth, middle age, or old age, 'has been a delighter in war; the army against which he 'fights is broken to pieces;—he of the great titles, the incar'nation of Bheeshm, whom the world calls lord of men.' Prutheerâj, when he heard these words, took from his neck a necklace of pearls of immense value which he presented to Neerdur. On the raja's neck it seemed like the sun encircled by Gungâ. The great warrior, Neerdur Râthor, caused the drum to sound. As the Veers assemble to fight at the sound of the drum, so assembled the army. He shone among his warriors as Droh * among the stars. To Kun, Prutheerâj presented his royal horse; with great urgency he caused him to mount. Said Kun, 'O forest-king! shame to me that I have 'not yet slain Someshwur's enemy, nor yet made a way of 'escape for this soul-swan from out my body.' Prutheerâj answered, 'Once on a time Soogreev's strength failed to pro'tect his wife; once on a time Dooryodhun was not able to 'protect Kurun; once on a time Shree Râm, himself, lost 'Seeta from the forest; once on a time the Pânduvs could not 'prevent the removal of Droupudee's garments. O Kun! do 'not be distressed about such things. I worship you as my

'Isht Dev. Seeing the fire of your eyes, the enemy will fear, 'as fears a serpent when he beholds the eyes of a peacock.' While he thus paid respect to Neerdur and Kun, Prutheerâj was informed of the approach of Bheem with a large army. Hearing that the valiant warrior had arrived near Puttun to take revenge for his father, Bheem raged as a snake that has been trodden on, or as a lion rudely woken out of sleep, or as a conflagration lit by a spark in the hot weather. Calling for all his warriors, he announced what he had heard; they, hearing of the matter, seemed like ascetics who had abandoned the world. The two armies arrived within sight of each other; balls began to fly from the tubes; fire arrows, fire flew into the air. On both sides horsemen pressed forward—they engaged with the sword. The Châlook had so arranged his force that his enemy could not break through it to reach the city; nor could the array of the Chohân be broken. The fight began; some were struck down by maces, others cleft by the sword; 'kill! kill!' was the cry; some struggled like wrestlers; arrows piercing the bodies of some, found their way out. Shiva and Kâlee rejoiced; she drank the blood of the slain; her consort strung a necklace of skulls; vultures tore human flesh instead of offal; the road to Swerga was crowded with travellers as the public street of a city; the warriors plundered, 'liberation' paying off their debts. The sword of Kun was flashing as lightning from the thunder cloud. On one side Kun Chohân, on the other Sârung Mukwâna—both of them valiant—fought like lions. They brandished broad[1] swords each of them. Sârung paid his debts; Kun attained glory. The Mukwâna fell in the field amidst the warriors that roared like elephants. Sârung's lands were widowed when the Mukwâna Raja fell. The warriors of the forest-king shouted; the enemy were struck with fear; warlike men attained in a moment the place which, with painful labour, the devotee attains; loving their wealth as little as their shadow they rushed into the fight; abandoning evil-disposition, they made the sword to rage; they seized upon each other; all they sought was 'liberation'; life they regarded as a dream.

[1] Kurwâls; paddle-shaped swords.

'Let us die to-night, who knows what may happen to-morrow?' The battle raged like fire fed by the wind. The warriors knew that their fame would increase; that the cage of the body, which is broken by the edge of the sword, does not again imprison the swan—the soul; that when the swan has escaped from it, the cage is of no further value. Still raged the fight; on men's heads swords kept striking; much armour was cleft through—many a saddle; cowards cried 'alas! alas!' when they received wounds; their cries were drowned in the note of the drum. Prutheerâj, crying 'well done! well done!' encouraged his warriors. The Sâbhermutee river, which rolls through Goojur-land, was flooded to each bank with blood; elephants, horses, and men floated upon its streams. Again the war-music sounded; for half-an-hour the fight was at the thickest; arrows sung through the air like bees; many of the Chohân's warriors were slain; many ranks of the Châlook's army fell like elephants on the field. Thus Prutheerâj took revenge for his father. Fates, holding cups in their hands, muttered charms; flesh-eaters satisfied their hunger; the warriors' bodies seemed like a forest of scarlet-flowering trees. Prutheerâj angrily put his horse in motion; at the clatter of its hoofs the earth shook; the line of the enemy began to waver as quiver the leaves of the sacred fig-tree; arrows flew so thick in the air that a bird could find no passage; the battle raged dreadfully. The warriors, striking each other, seemed smiths hammering at anvils; the Sâmunts who died in this battle were they who truly lived. At length the Châlook's army, abandoning the road to heaven, took to flight. Devs and demons cried, 'Well done! to the 'Kshutree, that cleaving the sun's disk, obtains the heaven of 'Indra.' Horses cried; swords clashed; soldiers, giving the raja's oath, encouraged each other. When Wâmun advanced three steps he subdued one world; but the warriors, advancing a single step, conquered the three worlds. They danced as if Roodra sported with the Veers. As the Châlook's army was broken, the array of the Chohân grew stronger; firmly fixed it was as the north star, though many a warrior fell wounded. Blows rained upon them as they rain upon a gong, but the line stood firm. The Chohân was exclaiming, 'To-day I

'will fulfil my hopes, I will make a widow of the land of 'Goozerat.' To Bheem he cried, 'You shall not escape; I 'will send you to where Som is seated in Swerga.' Kun, following him, encouraged his sovereign. The Sâmbhur Raja struck at Bheem; where the string of regeneration lay, there descended the sword. Devs in the heavens cried 'Victory! 'victory!' Bheem Dev fell. As the shout arose, Shumbhoo opened his eyes. Upsuras pressed forward to behold the sight; flowers descended from the skies upon the conquering Prutheerâj, while Bheem Dev, seated in a celestial chariot, took the road to the city of the Soors.

The five kinds of music sounded joyfully; Châruns and Bhâts sang the praises of Prutheerâj; his anger was appeased; he caused the wounded to be lifted up. Thus Prutheerâj took revenge for his father.

The shades of evening darkened; in that same spot the warriors passed the night. Six Sâmunts had been terribly wounded—their hurts were attended to. In the morning the lotuses began to expand; the moon and stars paled at the appearing of the sun; the temple's doors were opened; thieves, chukors,[1] vicious women hid themselves; conch-shells sounded in the places of worship; travellers pursued their journey; on all the trees the birds warbled. The Sâmunts touched the feet of Prutheerâj; 'Many of our warriors are gone to Dev 'Lok; Bheem Raja has been slain; the fame of the Lord of 'Earth has been increased; the burden has been removed from 'the land; fifteen hundred horses have been destroyed; five 'hundred elephants, five thousand soldiers.' Chund sang the praises of Prutheerâj and the chieftains:—'This life is like a 'dream; all that is visible is fated to be destroyed; but honor 'to the valiant Sâmunt who is faithful to his lord; who in a 'bad age takes the good path to the upper worlds.'

The king caused a deed of victory to be inscribed; he returned to Delhi; at sunrise he entered the city among his soldiers. Thus Prutheerâj took revenge for his father.

Such is the tale of the Bhârot Chund! More sober history, however, informs us that Bheem Dev II. survived the fall of Prutheerâj the Chohân, and after his death crossed swords,

[1] The chukor is a fairy bird, said to subsist on the moon-beams.*

almost as unhappily as himself, with his vanquisher the Mohummedan.

It was eight years after his disastrous attempt upon Goozerat (A. D. 1186), that Mohammed Shahâboodeen Ghoree made himself master of Lahore by a stratagem, and obtaining possession of the persons of Sultan Khoosrow Mullik and his family, sent them prisoners to Joorjistân.* These princes were some time after put to death, and the dynasty of Mahmood becoming wholly extinct the empire passed from the house of Ghuznee to that of Ghor.[1]

The time had now arrived when the storm, of which the two invasions of Goozerat had been but warning blasts, was to break upon the heads of the Rajpoot princes of India. A long period had intervened since the capture of Somnâth proved the power of the Mohummedan, but, wholly untaught even by stern experience, his destined victims had neglected to erect against him any barrier, and had, in reality, prepared the way for his approach by fratricidal contests. Goozerat and Malwa, Delhi, Sâmbhur, and Kanouj, were alike weakened by intestine struggles, and poisoned against each other by mutual victories and defeats, whose only permanent result was the rendering impossible any true-hearted union.

[1] Lanja Beejiraee of Jesulmer, married, as we have seen, the daughter of the great Sidh Râj, Jye Singh. By the princess of Unhilwârâ he had a son named Bhoj Dev, who, on the death of his father, succeeded to the throne at Lodurva, upon which he was for some time maintained by a guard of five hundred Solunkhee Rajpoots, against the attempts made by his uncle Jesul to supplant him. 'At this time,' say the annals of Jesulmer, 'the prince of Unhilwârâ was often engaged with the king's 'troops from Tatta. Jesul, in pursuance of his plan, determined to 'coalesce with the king (of Tatta) and cause an attack on Unhilwârâ, by 'which alone he could hope for the departure of the Solunkhee body-'guard. Jesul, with his chief kin, escorted by two hundred horse, marched 'to the Punjnud, where he saw the King of Ghor, who had just overcome 'the King of Tatta, and placed his own garrison there, and he accompanied 'him to Arore, the ancient capital of Sinde. There he unfolded his views, 'and having sworn allegiance to the king, he obtained a force to dispossess 'his nephew of his territory. Lodurva was encompassed and Bhoj Dev 'slain in its defence. In two days the inhabitants were to carry off their 'effects, and on the third the troops of Ghor were permitted the license of 'plunder. Lodurva was sacked, and Kureem Khan departed for Bukkur 'with the spoils.'

The first attack was nobly sustained by Prutheerâj, the Chohân (A. D. 1191), who, supported by Châmoond Râj, the viceroy of Delhi, engaged Mohammed Ghoree, at Tirowree, between Tahnesur and Kurnâl, and completely defeated him. Two years afterwards (A. D. 1193), the game was again played, but fortune this time changed hands. The armies met on the banks of the Suruswutee, and after a prolonged contest the Rajpoots, worn out by the skilful tactics of the enemy, were, as the sun went down, charged by twelve thousand of the choicest cavaliers of Islâm, who, covered with steel armour, and led by Mohammed in person, carried death and destruction through the Hindoo ranks. Châmoond was slain, and the prodigious army of the Chohân, 'once shaken, like a great 'building, tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins.'[1] The gallant Prutheerâj himself was taken in the pursuit, and murdered in cold blood. Mohammed Ghoree, in person, advanced to Ujmeer, where he perpetrated a cruel massacre, and thence turned his face homewards, 'destroying and 'plundering the countries in his retreat towards Ghuznee.' He left behind him, as his representative in India, Mullik Kootb-ood-deen, who soon took the fortress of Meerut and the royal city of Yogeeneepoor, and who in after days mounting the throne there on the death of his master, gave rise to the proverb that, 'The empire of Delhi was founded by a 'slave.'

Next year (A. D. 1194), Mohammed Ghoree, returning to India, defeated Jye Chunder on the banks of the Jumna, and took Kanouj and Benâres, 'where, having broken the idols 'in above one thousand temples, he purified and consecrated 'the latter to the worship of the true God.' The Râthor sovereign himself met a death congenial to the Hindoo, being drowned in the sacred stream. The gorgeous Kanouj ceased henceforth to be a Hindoo city, but not many years after the banner of the Râthor was again displayed by the grandsons of the unfortunate monarch, and transferred by them from the banks of the Ganges to the gloomy deserts of 'the land of 'death,' where firmly planted at last in the citadel of

[1] [Raverty points out that the words quoted are not in the text of Firishta, but were inserted by the translator.]

Jodhpoor, it has witnessed in safety the fall of the empire of Kootb-ood-deen.

Goozerat was next to bear the brunt of the Mohummedan attack. 'In A.D. 1194, Kootb-ood-deen led his army to 'Nehrwala (Unhilwârâ), the capital of the province of Goozerat, 'where, having defeated Bheem Dev, he took ample revenge 'for the overthrow formerly sustained by his master. He 'remained some time plundering that rich country, but was 'recalled by orders from Ghuznee, and commanded to repair 'instantly to Delhi.'

In another place, the same Mohummedan historian states that Kootb-ood-deen found encamped under the walls of Unhilwârâ, Jeewun Ray, the general of Bheem Dev, who fled at his approach; but on being closely pursued, drew up his army, and fought till he lost his life, when his army resumed its flight. 'Bheem Dev,' he continues, 'hearing of this 'defeat, fled from his dominions.'

No permanent occupation of Goozerat resulted, however, from the victory of Kootb-ood-Deen; and though Bheem Dev had been defeated and driven from his capital, his power was not yet broken. Two years after, or in A.D. 1196, as the historian relates, 'News arrived that the Raja of Nâgor and 'many other Hindoo rajas had entered into alliance with the 'Mairs, a race of people in that country, and together with 'the Raja of Nehrwala, had formed a design to wrest Ajmeer 'from the Mohummedans. The army of Kootb-ood-deen 'being dispersed over his provinces, he was forced to march 'in person against these confederates with the few troops 'present in Delhi, in order to prevent, if possible, the junction 'of the forces of Nehrwala; but he was defeated. After 'having been frequently dismounted in the action, and having 'received six wounds, he still fought with his wonted courage, 'till, being forced at length by his attendants off the field, he 'was carried in a litter to Ajmeer.

'The Mairs, rejoicing at this victory, now formed a junction 'with the forces of Goozerat, and sat down before Ajmeer. 'Intelligence of this event coming to the ears of the king, he 'sent a strong reinforcement from Ghuznee to the relief of 'Kootb-ood-deen. Ajmeer held out till the arrival of the

'succours, and the enemy raised the siege. Kootb-ood-deen, 'having recovered from his wounds, pursued the besieging 'army to Nehrwala, taking in his way the forts of Baly and 'Nadole. He then received advices that Walin and Darabarz, 'in alliance with the Raja of Nehrwala, were encamped near 'the fort of Abooghur, in the province of Sirohy, to defend 'the passes into Goozerat. Kootb-ood-deen, notwithstanding 'the difficulties of the road and the disadvantages of ground, 'attacked them; and on this occasion above fifty thousand of 'the enemy are said to have fallen on the field, besides twenty 'thousand who were taken prisoners. Vast spoils also fell 'into the hands of the victors. Having given his army some 'rest, Kootb-ood-deen pursued his route into Goozerat, 'ravaged that country without further opposition, and took 'the city of Nehrwala, where he left an officer with a strong 'garrison. He now returned to Delhi by the way of Ajmeer 'and sent a large quantity of jewels and gold, and also many 'slaves, to the king at Ghizny.'

Dhârâwursh and Prulhâdun Dev, here mentioned by Ferishta, were the Purmâr feudatories of Unhilwârâ, who possessed Chundrâwutee and Aboo. They were the sons of Yushodhuwul, already mentioned as the contemporary of Koomâr Pâl; and the inscription above quoted describes the younger brother Prudhâdun as 'the able protector of the Raja of Shree Goorjur-desh, the great enemy of the Dunooj,' meaning the Mohummedan invader. Another inscription upon Mount Aboo speaks of Prulhâdun Dev as being at the time Yoov Raja, or heir apparent, Som Singh, the son of Dhârâwursh, being then unborn.

Mohummed Ghoree was murdered in A. D. 1205, from which time until his own death, which occurred five years afterwards, Kootb-ood-deen Eibuk reigned as sovereign in Delhi. There is little else to record of the reign of Bheem Dev II. He died in A. D. 1215,[1] and was the last prince of the direct line

[1] [This must be wrong. A copperplate grant of his is dated A. D. 1240. Merutunga says he reigned 63 years, which makes the date of his death A. D. 1243. Kielhorn gives the names of two successors of Bhîma II, namely Jayanto (Jaya-) Sinha (known date A. D. 1223); and Tribhuvanpâla, A. D. 1242 (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, App. I B, p. 14).]

of Mool Râj. The Mohummedan garrison planted in Unhilwârâ by Kootb-ood-deen was probably either withdrawn or gradually annihilated, for we find no further mention of its existence; and fifty years after the death of Bheem Dev, as Ferishta records, the then sovereign of Delhi, Gheias-ood-deen Bulbun, was advised by his council to undertake an expedition against the kingdoms of Goozerat and Malwa, 'which had 'been annexed to the empire by Kootb-ood-deen, *but had since 'shaken off the Mohummedan yoke.*' To this measure, however, his fears of the Moghul Tartars on the north of his dominions, deprived Gheias-ood-deen of the power of assenting.

It was not, indeed, until the close of the thirteenth century that Unhilwârâ finally succumbed to the Moslem sword, then wielded by the furious hand of Allah-ood-deen, whose patronymic of Khiljy is familiar to every peasant of Goozerat, under the subsituted form of 'Khoonee,' or 'the murderer.'

CHAPTER XIII

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE KINGDOM OF UNHILPOOR

The point which has now been reached—that of the death of Bheem Dev II.—is a convenient one from whence to review the story of Unhilwârâ. Long afterwards, and even subsequently to the final overthrow of the kingdom of Sidh Râj and Koomâr Pâl, Goozerat continues to present a picture of anarchy. The work of Moslem conquest still proceeds ; and minor aggressions, at once the causes and effects of weakness in the central power, add to the confusion. A gleam of prosperity still gilds occasionally the towers and temples of the city of Wun Râj, but it is henceforth the halo of the setting sun ; the heart still feebly beats, but the extremities are now becoming cold,—

And vast confusion waits,
As doth a raven on a sick-fallen beast,
The imminent decay of wrested pomp.

The writers from whose compositions we have derived the account which has been given, require, in the first place, some notice. Of Krishnâjee, the Brahmin, author of *Rutun Mâlâ*, nothing is known. He wrote subsequently to the death of Bheem Dev II., but, probably, not long after that event, and his work was founded upon the labours of preceding authors :—

'As a man churns curds, and extracts the clarified butter, 'throwing the butter-milk away ;—

'As a man squeezes sugar cane, and extracts the juice with-'out preserving anything else ;—

'As a man extracts gold from dust, and throws the dust 'aside ;—

'As a man separates grain from the husk, or takes oil from 'sesamum ;—

'So, examining all books, good compositions and true,
'This book, *Rutun-Mâlâ* by name, the writer has composed.'

The *Dwyâshray* appears to have been commenced by the celebrated Hemâchârya, who died in the end of the reign of Koomâr Pâl, before A. D. 1174. It was continued by a Jain monk, named Leshâjye Tiluk Gunee, at Prulhâdun Puttun (probably Pahlunpoor), and was completed 'on the day of the 'Deewâlee, in the year of Vikrum, 1312,' or A. D. 1256. Lukshmee Tiluk Kuvee, as the monk records, made a 'teeka,' or commentary on the work, and corrected it. Leshâjye himself deduces his spiritual pedigree from 'Shree Wurdhumân 'Âchârya, who travelled about Goozerat in the reign of Shree 'Doorlubh Râj,' and from whom he was ninth in descent. The *Dwyâshray* is so called, because the author proposed to himself two objects—to teach the construction of the Sanscrit language, and to narrate the story of the race of Sidh Râj. This double task he attempts in verses, which, though written consecutively, must be read alternately.*

The *Prubundh Chintâmunee* dates a little later. It was completed at Wurdhumânpoor (the modern Wudwân), on the last day of the bright half of the month of Wyeshâk, in the year of Vikrum 1361, or A. D. 1305. The author was Merootoong Âchârya, a monk of the Jain convent, at Wudwân. A similar work of the same name, or, perhaps, the commencement of the present work, was, however, written, as Merootoong himself records, by Shree Goonchunder Âchârya. 'The mind of the 'Pundit,' says the author in his prelude, 'is not satisfied with 'hearing so much of ancient stories. I, therefore, in my book, 'the *Prubundh Chintâmunee*, detail the stories of great kings 'of recent times'; he adds, in another place, 'though with 'little wisdom yet with industry.' †

These works have been our principal guides, but they have been illustrated and corroborated by monumental inscriptions, by copper-plate deeds, by the relations of Mohummedan historians, by the poems of Chund Bhârot, and by bardic and oral tradition.

There is, as might be expected, much similarity of character in the works of the Jain monks of Pahlunpoor and Wudwân. With them, of course, civil affairs are entirely subordinate to ecclesiastical transactions; but, in regard to the latter, as well as the former, they rather content themselves with anecdotes

than attempt a connected relation. The outline which they afford is wholly defective, but not, it may be asserted, untrue; for, in almost every case where a comparison is practicable, their statements or allusions are verified or explained by independent authority, and greater research, it is therefore fair to assume, would add still more of corroboration. Were it possible to discover what portion of the *Dwyâshray* was the composition of Hemchunder himself, and how much of this portion has been transmitted without alteration by Leshâjye and Lukshmee Tiluk, we should have, in regard to two of the principal reigns, the remarks of a contemporary writer. This is, however, manifestly impossible; and we must be content to receive these Jain accounts simply as the recorded tradition of the times in which they were written. Regarded even from this point of view, they are by no means destitute of value. They connect and explain other materials, nay, often supply hints which lead to their discovery; and though their assertions, in regard to particular facts, may be fully believed only in as far as corroborated, it would be wholly unreasonable to refuse credence to the general information which they afford in regard to customs, manners, institutions, tones of thought and feeling, as existing in the times at which they were written; nor will, we suppose, any one under-estimate their value, who reflects how little is known of mediæval India of the centuries preceding the Mohummedan conquest, and how important the relics of that period are towards a right understanding of the Hindoo nation in the present time.

Of the poems of Chund the Bhârot, far more picturesque and interesting as they are, it is necessary to speak with somewhat greater reservation. Chund[1] is the first in fame of the bardic chroniclers, and his poems are distinguished by all the vices, as well as by all the rugged merits of the class. It is not as a sober narrator that he must be regarded, but as the bard of the Chohâns, if not excited with 'the red draught,' at least drunk with the wine of war and clannish rivalry. The

[1] ['Chund the Bhârot' is usually called Chand Bardāī. The original poem of 5,000 verses has been expanded to 125,000. (Smith, *Early Hist. of India*, 3rd ed., p. 387 *n.*) A critical edition of the whole is much needed, but the preparation of it would be extremely difficult.]

text is so corrupt as to be sometimes well nigh unintelligible, and even where the sense is clear, the difficulty of distinguishing the original composition under the varnishes with which it has been overlaid is immense,—so great indeed as to produce, at times, an almost scepticism in regard to the genuineness of the whole work. Bheem Dev II., as we have seen, fell, according to Chund's account, by the hand of Prutheerâj Chohân, while in truth he survived that prince for many years. On other occasions the family names of clans in Goozerat are mentioned in connection with events which, according to all other authorities, occurred centuries before the founders of these races lived. Anachronisms, such as the first mentioned, might be accounted for, without prejudice to the genuineness of the work, by supposing the anxiety of Chund to extol the achievements of his king, and his hero: of some of those of the second class it might be said, in defence, that the tribes alluded to existed in the time of Chund, though not at the period to which he refers,—but what is to be urged when, to take an example, the achievements of 'the Gohil from Perumbh' are celebrated by Chund, and it is found that no Gohil occupied Perumbh until nearly a century after the poet's time? We fear it must be admitted, that all is not the work of Chund which passes under his name; and this fact once discovered, it becomes at least very difficult to separate what is genuine from what is spurious, or to refer the latter to any specific period.

In the picture of Unhilwârâ which we receive from the hands of these painters, the prominent figure is, undoubtedly, the sovereign. He is supported by the white-robed priests of the Jain religion, or by the Brahminical wearers of the badge of regeneration; beside him stand warriors of Rajpoot race in ringed tunics, such as defended from the Saxon bill the knights of the bastard William, or, equally gallant in the field, and wiser far in council, the Wâneea Muntreshwurs, already in profession puritans of peace, but not yet drained enough of their fiery Kshutree blood. At the edge of the warlike circle, themselves half warriors, stand the minstrels and the bards, and further off, fierce only in words, a group of peaceful cultivators, with their offerings of the fruits of the earth, behind

whom, trusted perforce, and yet feared, their indispensable guards and yet their plunderers, are ranged the bowmen, 'black as kâjul,' the wild aborigines of the ravine and of the hill.

The sovereign himself is a stately figure; the scarlet umbrella of royalty is borne above him; the pictured sun glitters in gold behind his head; his necklaces are of voluptuous pearls, and his bracelets of sparkling diamonds; yet his is no effeminate form; the spear and the brand suit well his massive arms; his eye is red with the fire of battle; the shrill sound of the war-shell is as familiar to his ears as the deep rolling of the palatial drum; he is a 'shielded man,' as well as an anointed chief; 'a Kshutree's son,' no less than the offspring of a queen.

For the portraits of the fair we must turn to another canvas. There we behold her in the 'swuyumbur mundup' choosing her favored knight, or in the marriage-hall shining beside him as the Goddess of Love beside her lord. An honored mother, we again behold her guiding the realm of her youthful son, or in his manhood aiding him with her counsel, and winning him to works of mercy and of religion; or again, alas! we view her in another mood, with strangely frenzied eye, supporting in her lap the lifeless form of her lord, while the shriek of the dissonant horn, and the still harsher scream of superstitious madness afflict the ear, while the funeral flame springs fiercely upwards, and the thick black smoky pall is spread above, as if to hide the horrid sight from heaven.

In the annals of a Hindoo society, the subject of land tenures must always be one of fundamental interest. Our authorities, however, were not likely to have made a direct statement upon a matter with which they, no doubt, supposed the whole world to be familiar. We gather, incidentally, that the king had a share in the produce; at times he is represented as taking this share directly from the cultivators, through agents of his, called 'muntrees.' At other times, we are told that the lords of the villages receive a share of the crop from the cultivators, and that the king receives his share from the lords. The country was divided into villages, called 'grâms'; the villagers were householders—Koutombeeks (Koonbees), or

husbandmen (Kârshuks); the village head-men were Puttkeels (Putels). The cultivators are exhibited to us employed as in the present day. While the crop is rising, they fence their fields with temporary hedges of thorns; when it is more advanced, they are active in scaring the birds from it. The cultivators' wives, as at present, watching the rice-crops on the fields, make the country joyous with their songs. A failure of rain produces a default in payment of the king's share, and incarceration of the cultivator is resorted to, to enforce payment. The defaulter resists with obstinacy, and upon principle, and yet moans and seeks commiseration like a helpless child. Much trouble and annoyance to both parties is the result, and the matter is finally settled by a court of reference—a state of things, it may be remarked, exactly parallel to that existing at this day in parts of the country subject to native rule.

Alienations of land were made by the sovereign principally in favor of religious personages or places of worship. Several instances of this kind are recorded; as, for example, the grants of Sidhpoor and Seehore to the Brahmins, or of Châlâ to the Jains. These alienations are frequently called 'grâs'—a word, perhaps, exclusively appropriated at the time to religious grants. When Mool Râj builds the Treepooroosh Prâsâd, a temple of Muhâ Dev, at Unhilwârâ, he assigns 'grâs' to the ascetic, its custodian; and when Wâg Bhut, the son of Oodâyun, in the reign of Koomâr Pâl, erects at Wâhudpoor, near Pâleetânâ, the Jain temple called 'Treebhoowun Pâl Vehâr' after the father of the king, the subsistence which he assigns in land 'for the Dev's people,' is also called 'grâs.' 'From neglecting to give grâs,' says Mâgh Pundit, in the court of Bhoj, speaking of a Brahmin's poverty, 'the sun of the householder sets.' The deed itself was called 'shâsun.'

Grants of land were also made to members of the royal family—as those of Deythulee and Wâghel. It is said, too, of Koomâr Pâl, 'At that time the Solunkhee king, Emperor of the Generous, gave to Âling, the potter, the grant, in writing, of seven hundred villages. The potter being ashamed of his descent, his family to this day retain the name of Sugurâ.' Nothing of this grant is, however, traceable. It is remarkable

that, unless the case of Wâghel be considered one, there is no instance of a permanent alienation of land for hereditary military service. The fortresses in Goozerat proper are represented as held by the king's garrisons, without the intervention of a baronial vassal; and of all the Rajpoot houses, whose chiefs subsequently appear as large land-holders and kinglets in the country, not any one is asserted, even by their own annalists, to have held under grant of the Kings of Unhilwârâ, with the single exception of the Jhâlâs, who claim to have received their lands from Kurun II., the very last prince of the race. 'Crown-'bearing princes,' however, we have seen at the court of Mool Râj; and Munduleshwurs, or lords of provinces, are elsewhere mentioned. Kâhn Dev, the husband of Koomâr Pâl's sister, is so described; and when Oodâyun Muntree marches against Sâoosur, of Soreth, he, it is said, arrives at Wudwân, and there collects 'all the Munduleshwurs.' These, it would seem, were chiefs of the country; there are other Munduleek Rajas mentioned, whose territories, though subject to the sovereigns of Unhilwârâ, were not included in Goozerat. Such were the lords of Aboo and Girnâr; Mulikâ Urjoon, the Prince of the Konkun; and others.

The Sâmunts, or military officers, probably received their pay from the treasury, and ranked, as did in after times the officers of the imperial Moghul government of Delhi, according to the number of men they commanded.[1] Sidh Râj, it is said, presented to one of his household 'the Samuntship of one hun-'dred horse'; and, when Koomâr Pâl went against Âno Raja, it is mentioned that 'there were in the army leaders of 'twenties and thirties called Muhâ-Bhuts, and of thousands 'called Bhut-Râjs.' The greater officers were 'Chutra-'Putees,' and 'Nobut-possessors'; that is to say, they were allowed to use the insignia of the umbrella and the drums. It is remarkable that so many of the officers possessing high rank, and holding independent commands, are represented to have been Wâneeâs; such were Jâmb, the companion of Wun Râj; and Sujjun, his descendant; Moonjâl, the servant of Jye Singh; Oodâyun and his sons; and others. Among those who served occasionally, and were, perhaps, regarded as auxiliaries

[1] [The title *Sâmanta* occurs frequently in inscriptions and coin legends.]

rather than as vassals, were chiefs from foreign lands—the Princes of Kuleeán, the Râthor Seeyojee. 'Rajpoots and foot 'soldiers' are spoken of, as if the former were invariably cavalry. The great aim of the kings appears to have been to protect their own subjects from injury by foreign invasion or internal disturbance, and to extend their dominions by rendering the surrounding states tributary; to imitate, in fact, the example of the model-king, Vikrumâditya, 'who, overrunning 'a circle of territory in all directions, made the Râj Munduls 'his servants.'[1] These military expeditions were called by the expressive name of 'Veejye Yâtrâ'—'victory-pilgrim-'ages.' At times, indeed, wars arose from some more immediate cause; as when a religious crusade was preached against Grâh Ripoo, or when the provocation given by Yushowurm drew upon him the anger of Sidh Râj; but the object to which hostilities were directed appears to have been still the same; and the victor, satisfied that his enemy had 'taken 'grass in his mouth,' and agreed to pay tribute, did not proceed to a permanent occupation of his territory. A country once overrun, future invasions of it seem to have partaken very largely of the character of those expeditions which were at last known by the name of 'Moolukgeeree.' Conquest meant the acquisition of a right to share in the yearly land revenue—a constantly recurring claim, which, as it was enforced against the cultivators at home by duress of their persons, so was it against foreign princes by military inroads upon their territories. Such appears to have been the case as early as the times when Jye Sheker was subjected to the inroads of King Bhoowur; or when, to facilitate the collection of his dues by the officers deputed for that purpose, Wun Râj, the young prince of the country, was appointed his 'Selbhrut' by the King of Kuleeán. The tradition that Goozerat belonged, as a tributary province, to the sovereigns south of the Godâvery, continued apparently during the entire sway of the Chowra dynasty, and as late as the invasion by Bârp, the general of Teilip Raja, in the reign of the first of the Solunkhee kings. Subsequently Kutch, Soreth, the northern Konkun, Malwa, Jhâlor, and other countries were overrun by the descendants

[1] *Prubundh Chintâmunee.*

of Wun Râj, in numerous expeditions, though not, it would appear, permanently occupied. Though Grâh Ripoo was subdued by Mool Râj, and Lâkhâ slain by him, yet the Jhâreja and Yâdoo dynasties were by no means extinguished; though Yushowurm was vanquished, and Dhâr taken by Jye Singh, yet Urjoon Dev, of Malwa, not many years after, ravaged Goozerat; and though the banners of Unhilwârâ were displayed victoriously in 'the country of a hundred thousand towns,' yet the kings of Ujmeer continued to be dangerous rivals of the house of Wun Râj, until that latest time when Chohâns and Solunkhees alike fell before the Mohummedan invader.

At the courts of their more powerful neighbours, the kings of Unhilwârâ were represented by accredited diplomatic agents called 'Sândhee-Vigraheek,' or makers of peace and war, whose duty it was to keep them informed of foreign affairs—a task performed also in another manner by persons called 'Sthân Pooroosh,' men of the country, or spies, who were probably unrecognised by their employers.

In addition to the land revenue, the kings of Unhilwârâ levied transit duties, 'dân,' upon goods conveyed through the country; and they also exacted from religious pilgrims a tax called 'kur.' Of the affairs of navigation and commerce little is said. Ships are, however, mentioned, sea-traders and pirates; and merchants, 'vyuvuhâree,' are spoken of, apparently possessed of great wealth, for it is said that the trader who had amassed the sum of money which entitled him to that distinction was allowed to raise upon his house 'the ten million banner.' In the reign of Yog Râj, a foreign king's ships, laden with horses, elephants, and other cargo, are driven into the port of Someshwur Puttun. In Sidh Râj's time, sea-traders, 'Sânyâtreek,' import madder, concealing their gold among the bales from fear of pirates. The kings of Unhilwârâ held maritime possessions in the northern Konkun, as well as in Goozerat itself and the peninsula. Their ports of Stumbhteerth and Bhrigoopoor are well known as Cambay and Broach; Sooryâpoor may be Surat, and Gundaba is probably Gundevee. Beyt, Dwârka, Dev Puttun, Mhowa, Gopnâth, and others, studded the coast of Soorâshtra.

The two prevalent religions, the Jain and the Brahminical,

were continually opposed to each other, and gained in turns the mastery. The former was powerful in the reign of the first sovereign, probably owing, in a great degree, to its protection of the youth of the king, and to the influence of the queen-mother, who was a convert to its doctrines. Wun Râj and his successors, however, professed the faith of Shiva, until the days when Sidh Râj listened to, and Koomâr Pâl adopted, the doctrines of Urhunt. From that period until the times at which we are arrived, with the short interval of the reign of Ujye Pâl, the Jain religion held the ascendancy, and numbered the sovereign among its professors. Their controversies, though bitter in the extreme, appear to have been conducted with much state and order, and the sovereign, being a Hindoo, sat himself as president of the religious synod, Sidh Râj, as we have seen, Shaivite, or more probably 'liberal,' as he was, being nevertheless the judge between branches of the heretical sect.

Of the places to which pilgrimage was made, the most celebrated were the great shrines of Shiva and Vishnoo, at Somnâth and Dwârka. The temples of Umbâjee at Ârâsoor, and of Kâleekâ at Châmpâner, were also in existence, and the same deity, under the name of Hinglâz, possessed a celebrated shrine at Null Bowlee; but of the local goddesses, now so numerous, no mention occurs. The Jain 'teerths,' or sacred places of Shutroonjye and Girnâr, have been alluded to. Sunkheshur, on the borders of the Runn of Kutch, was probably coeval with these, and had been restored in the time of Merootoong Âchârya, who mentions it under the name of Shunkhpoor. Jain teerths existed also at Cambay and Kâvee, on opposite banks of the Myhee, and at Gundhâr on the Dhâdur. Mount Aboo received a Jain temple in the reign of Bheem Dev I., and Koomâr Pâl installed Shree Ujeetnâth upon the not-far-distant hill of Târingâ.

The sacred rivers were numerous, from virgin Suruswutee's bright but slender stream to the mighty flood of the much adored Nerbudda. The Taptee, the Myhee, the Sâbhermutee, and many streams of lesser note, were studded with holy places, and celebrated in sacred Muhâtmâs.

Of domestic affairs we are permitted but an occasional

glimpse. The king's slumbers are broken in the morning by the sound of the royal drum and conch-shell. He rises, and goes forth to exercise his horse. His palace is in a citadel called the Râj Pâtheekâ, which contains also the other royal buildings. It is ornamented with 'keerttee sthumbhs,' triumphal pillars. A gate, called 'the clock-door' (ghutheekâ), opens into the city, and fronting it, in the main street, is the 'treepolya,' or barrier of three doors. In the day-time the king gives audience; mace-bearers keep the door of the court, and admit or reject visitors; the Yoov Raja, or heir-apparent, is beside the monarch, and the Munduleshwurs and Sâmunts surround him. The Muntree Râj, or Prudhân, is also there with his companions, sagely counselling economy, and ever ready in the production of written authority, and precedent not to be disregarded. Business despatched, the Pundits, or men of learning, are called in with their dreary literature, and pompous splitting of grammatical hairs; or, perhaps—more welcome guest—a wandering bard or 'portrait painter' is introduced, with old world stories of Râm and of Vibheeshun, or with tales of fresher fragrance, pointing out a cynosure for every imagination in the beauty of some foreign fair; nor is the courtezan excluded, she of the smart saying, famed for the much-valued cleverness which is gained in 'the world,'—who, when the learned fail, is ever ready to cut the Gordian knot of solemn question with the sharp blade of her repartee, for

'The sight of foreign lands; the possession of a Pundit for 'a friend; *a courtezan*; access to the royal court; patient 'study of the Shâstras; the roots of cleverness are these 'five.'

The king appears in public, mounted on an elephant, or borne in the litter called 'sookhâsun.' On great days the shops, which line the streets through which he passes, are adorned. In the evening, after worship and waving of lamps before the idol, he retires to an upper chamber, called 'chundra shâlâ,' where his repast is served. It includes, we may be sure, animal food and wine, for we have beheld Sâmunt Singh in his fatal fit of intoxication, and have seen the virtuous abstinence from flesh practised by Koomâr Pâl, as a convert to the faith of the Teerthunkers. The meal finished, his body is

anointed with sandal; he uses betel-nut, and reclines upon a swinging bed which is suspended from the ceiling by chains; his scarlet robe is thrown over the couch and its pillow; sentinels are placed, and a night-lamp burns beside him. The duties of the king are, however, by no means finished; he must rise from his couch to perform the 'Veerchuryâ.' He goes forth, sword in hand, alone, or attended by a single servant, who carries drinking water, and thus traverses the silent streets of his city, or passing the gates, extends his ramble beyond its walls to some spot frequented only by the filthy birds of night, the Yogeenee and the Dâkin, female sprites, whom he compels to reply to his questions and to inform him of future events. Of the nocturnal rambles of Sidh Râj, it is said by the author of the *Dwyâshray*, 'From what he saw at 'night he would send for people in the day-time, and say to 'one, "you suffer from such and such an uneasiness," or to 'another, "you have such and such a ground of rejoicing," so 'that people thought that he knew the very hearts of men, 'and must be an incarnation of a Dev.' Not seldom, however, the disguised prince meets with less sorry entertainment than is to be derived from the company of witches and goblins, or even from the contemplation of the private joys or sorrows of his people. The brilliant lights in the mansion of a wealthy merchant attract him, perhaps, to a more festive scene, where, though unknown, he is entertained; or he is drawn by the sound of music and by laughter to where, in the ante-chamber to some temple of Shiva, the actors are delighting a crowd by their extempore wit. The great Jye Singh is exhibited to us, on one occasion, attending in disguise a dramatic representation (nâtuk) at the Kurun Meroo Prâsâd, where he becomes familiar with a Wâneeo, who, in his unrestrained delight at the performance, leans upon the shoulder of the king, and receives supplies of betel-nut from the hand which brought down the pride of Khengâr and Yushowurm. The next morning, called into the presence-chamber, the poor trader is alarmed at beholding, in the occupant of the throne, his last night's companion of the theatre, but a ready speech of compliment provokes the sovereign's smile, and he is dismissed with honor. These exhibitions appear to have been attended with considerable

expense, and to have been placed within the means of wealthy persons only. On another occasion, the same monarch beholding a nâtuk given 'at Shiva's temple' by a merchant, is described as revolving in his mind the probable amount which his unwitting host might be compelled to contribute towards furnishing forth an army against Malwa.

Neither Merootoong nor the author of the *Dwyâshray* furnishes us with any account of the architecture, either private or public, of the times to which his work refers. The following description of the capital itself is, however, to be found in the *Koomâr Pâl Churittra.* 'Unhilpoor was twelve coss in circuit, 'within which were many temples and colleges; eighty-four 'squares; eighty-four market-places, with mints for gold 'and silver coin. Each class had its separate quarter, as had 'each description of merchandise—elephants' teeth, silks, 'purples, diamonds, pearls, &c. &c.; each had its separate 'square. There was one market-place for money-changers; 'one for perfumes and unguents; one for physicians; one for 'artizans; one for goldsmiths and another for silversmiths; 'there were distinct quarters for navigators, for bards, and for 'genealogists. The eighteen "wurun" inhabited the city; all 'were happy together. The palace groaned with a multitude 'of separate buildings—for the armory, for elephants, for 'horses and chariots, for the public accountants and officers 'of state. Each kind of goods had its separate custom-house, 'where the duties of export, import, and sale were collected— 'as for spices, fruits, drugs, camphors, metals, and every 'thing costly of home or foreign growth. It is a place of 'universal commerce. The daily amount of duties is one lakh 'of tunkhas. If you ask for water they give you milk. There 'are many Jain temples, and on the banks of a lake is a 'shrine to Sehesling Muhâ Dev. The population delights to 'saunter amidst the groves of chumpâs, palms, rose-apples, 'sandal trees, mangoes, &c., with every variegated creeper, 'and fountains whose waters are *umrut.* Here discussions 'take place on the Veds, carrying instruction to the listener. 'There is no want of Jain priests, or of merchants true to 'their word, and skilled in commerce; and there are many 'schools for teaching grammar. Unhilwârâ is a sea of human

'beings. If you can measure the waters of the ocean, then 'you may attempt to count the number of souls. The army is 'numerous, nor is there any lack of bell-bearing elephants,'[1]

Of all this splendour, it is melancholy to relate, hardly a vestige remains. The relics of Unhilwârâ lie in a flat country within and around the walls of the modern city of Puttun; but, like those of Wullubheepoor, they are discovered only by excavation. Chiselled marble, however, instead of Babylonish brick, forms the debris of the capital of Wun Râj. It was brought probably, in part at least, from the hills of Ârâsoor, whose blue outline may be beheld on the horizon of this scene of sandy desolation. A portion still remains of the well which was constructed by the Queen of Bheem Dev I., and the site of the splendid reservoir of Sidh Râj is indicated at a distance by an octagonal Moslem tomb, which now occupies a mound in its centre. With the rest, six centuries and the fury of the Mohummedans have done their work. That 'which Cam-'byses or time hath spared,' moreover, 'avarice now con-'sumeth,' and the poor cold ashes of Unhilwârâ are sold for a pitiful gain by her vulgar Mahratta lords, ignorant as they are alike of her glory and of their own dishonor.

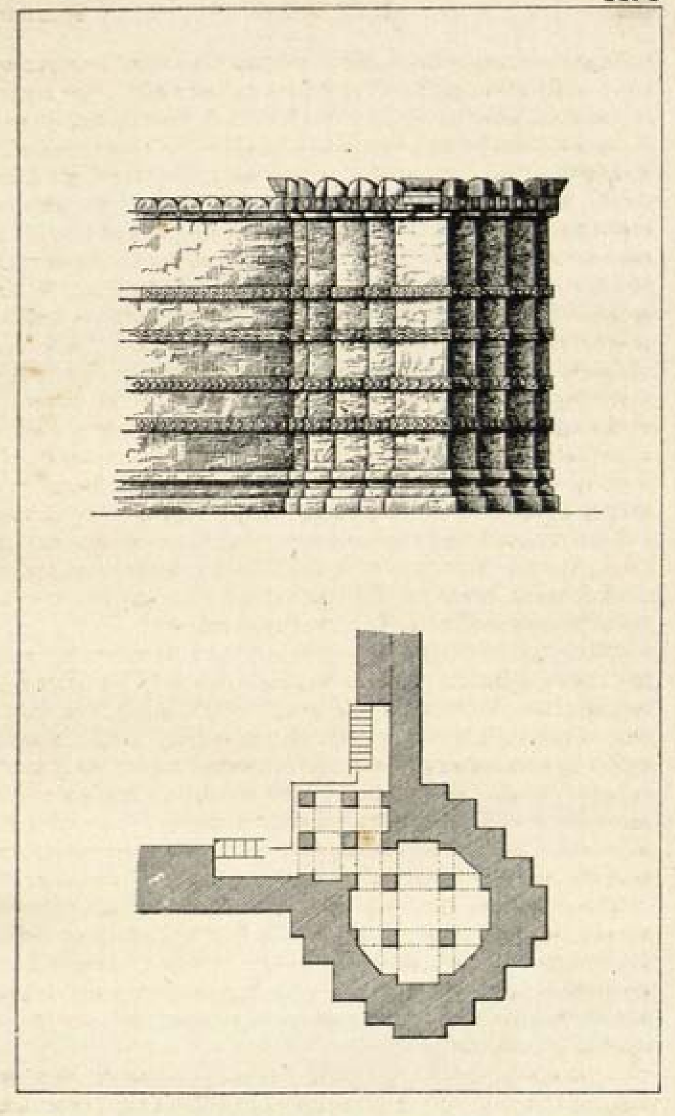
Of the domestic edifices of the purely Hindoo times we can form but a general idea, founded upon a view of the structures employed by succeeding generations. The palace of the prince has passed away as completely as the cottage of the peasant, but of the splendors of public architecture we have the palpable evidence of existing remains; and we may with little effort and with complete certainty picture to ourselves, in their perfect state, the wells, the tanks, the triumphal arches, the temples, and the fortresses of the sovereigns of Unhilpoor.

Of these relics, the most interesting, perhaps, are the sister fortresses of Dubhoee and Junjoowârâ. They are very similar in construction, as well as in extent; but the latter may be selected for description, both as being more regular in plan, and as having, from its unexposed position, suffered less of injury.

Junjoowârâ forms an exact square, of which each side measures in length about eight hundred yards. The walls

[1] *Vide* Tod's *Western India*, pp. 156–8.

FIG I



PLAN AND ELEVATION OF CORNER TOWER OF THE FORTRESS OF JUNJOOWARA

which enclose this space are of solid mason-work, and rise about fifty feet in height.[1] In the centre of each side is a large gateway, the platform above which is supported by rows of brackets projected beyond each other until they nearly meet at the top, and forming a substitute for an arch. In the thickness of the wall these bracketted doorways are six times repeated, and upon them is laid a flat stone roof, a construction which was long employed even after the time when the arch, with its facility for vaulted ceilings, had been introduced by the Mohummedans. At each corner of the fortress is a tower, square in general plan, but broken into the peculiar form in which the Hindoo architect delights (see Fig. 1); four rectangular bastions intervene between each corner tower and central gateway. The walls are throughout ornamented with sculptured horizontal bands repeated at intervals, and are completed by semicircular 'kângras' or battlements, screening the platformed way along which the warders passed. The gateways themselves are covered with a profusion of sculptured ornament, which the art of photography alone can adequately represent. Within the walls, immediately opposite to, and not far removed from the southern gateway, is a circular or multilateral reservoir, about three hundred yards in diameter, the 'ghât,' or flight of descending steps surrounding which is broken at regular intervals by paved road-ways, enabling cattle and wheeled carriages to approach the waters of the tank. Each road-way is ornamented with two pavilions, terminating in pyramidal roofs. Beside the tank is a 'bowlee,' or well, of the peculiar character which we shall presently describe. Of this fortress the four gateways, in different stages of decay, still remain,

[1] The following opinion, extracted from an article upon the defence of Sebastopol in the number of the *United Service Journal* for November, 1855, which has been attributed to Sir John Burgoyne, may aid the reader in estimating the value, in their own day, of the fortifications of Junjoowârâ:

'One of the principal ingredients in defensive works is an obstacle to the 'approach of the assailants, and the best obstacle is a wall or vertical face 'to be surmounted. If this exceeds thirty feet in height, it becomes very 'formidable indeed; an escalade (which, while the wall is entire, is the 'only resource) is the most desperate of military undertakings, and never 'succeeds but by absolute surprise, or from very great weakness on the 'side of the defenders.'

and the wall which connects two of these with a corner bastion is tolerably perfect. The square space thus indicated, forming about a fourth part of the area of the fortress in its original state, has been re-enclosed by a wall of very inferior character, strengthened with circular bastions, and pierced by arched gateways. This portion is occupied by a modern town belonging to Koolee chieftains; but the buildings which were enclosed within the original circumvallation have wholly perished and given place to a rank jungle. We must not omit to state that in numerous parts of the ancient work is found the inscription 'Muhun Shree Oodul,' supposed to indicate that Oodâyun Muntree was the minister employed in the direction of the work.

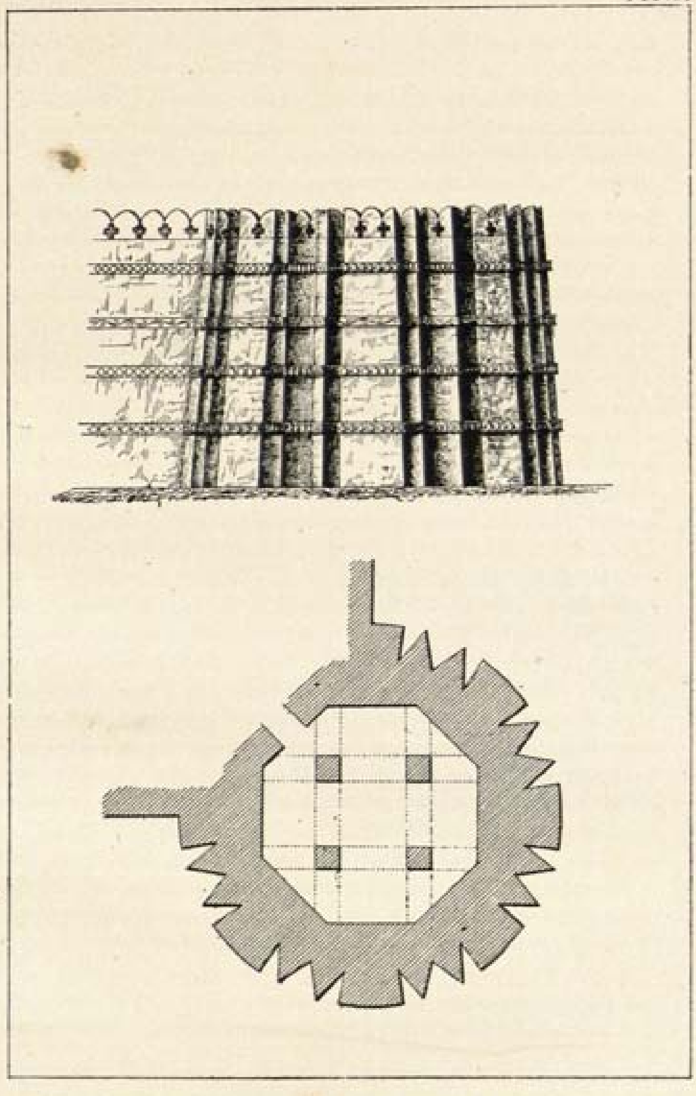
Dubhoee is, as we have said, very similar, both in form and extent, to Junjoowârâ. It is less regular in form, two of its sides meeting in a sharp angle and exceeding the others in length. The shorter sides extend about eight hundred and the longer about one thousand yards. The walls are somewhat lower than, and three of the gates not quite so magnificent as, those of Junjoowârâ; but this inferiority is redeemed by the fourth, called the Gate of Diamonds, which is more elaborate in design, and far superior in size. One of the corner towers of Dubhoee exhibits so much singularity of plan as to deserve representation (see Fig. 2). It will be observed that the walls of the tower slope inwards. Another remarkable feature in this fortification is the colonnade, which follows (on the inside) the line of the walls, and supports a platform several feet in breadth, thus forming a lengthened covered portico, which must have afforded invaluable shelter for a Hindoo garrison.[1] A reservoir of irregular shape is also contained within the encincture of Dubhoee.

The fortresses we have described, it is necessary to recollect, were but frontier military positions, probably as far surpassed in splendor as in extent by Dholka and other towns of the second class, while these in turn were outshone by the marble-adorned metropolis of Unhilpoor.

Of the temples which still remain, we may mention first the

[1] The author of *Oriental Memoirs* compares this colonnade to the porticoes in front of the barracks at Pompeii. *Vide* vol. ii, p. 325, orig. edit. [1813].

FIG. 11



PLAN AND ELEVATION OF CORNER TOWER OF THE FORTRESS OF DUBHOEE

Roodra Mâlâ of Sidhpoor.[1] It was a very large edifice of the usual form, and apparently three stories in height. The mundup, or ante-chamber, was square externally; but the columns were so arranged as to admit of an easy transition into the octagonal form within. In the centre of three sides projected two storied porticoes, called 'roop-chorees;' and on the fourth was the adytum, a most massive structure rising tower-like to the extreme height of the central building, and then mounting beyond it into a 'shikur,' or spire. Two of the roop-chorees deprived of their pyramidal roofs, and otherwise in a mutilated state, and part of the frontispiece to the adytum, remain. (See Fig. 3.)

On either side stood a 'keerttee-stumbh,' or triumphal pillar, one of which exists in a nearly perfect state. It consists of two richly adorned columns supporting an entablature and sculptured pediment. Brackets, formed of the heads of marine monsters, project from the columns at about two-thirds of their height. From the brackets springs a delicately fretted arch called 'torun,' or garland, which is in the centre, touched, as it were but at a tangent, by the architrave. This frontispiece, which is about thirty-five feet in height, is covered, from the ground to the apex, with the most elaborate sculpture. (See Fig. 4.)

The principal shrine which we have described, and which fronted the Suruswutee, stood in the centre of an extensive court. Three large gate-houses, opposite to the three porticoes of the temple, gave access to the outside; that in the front opening upon a terrace and flight of descending steps, which were continued for a considerable distance along the banks of the sacred stream. The enclosing wall of the courtyard was formed by numerous lesser shrines, each surmounted by a spire, three of which, occupying the central position in rear of the adytum, still remain, and have been converted into a Mohummedan mosque.

The temple at Modheyra affords us an example of a shrine of somewhat different character.[2] It rose to the height of one

[1] [See Burgess, *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat* (vol. ix, *Arch. S. Western India*, 1903), chapter vi, 'Siddhapur.']

[2] [The antiquities of Modherā are described by Burgess, *op. cit.*,

story only, and consisted of an adytum, a closed mundup attached to it, and an open mundup separated from the rest of the edifice. The spire has fallen, and the domes are no longer in existence ; but the remainder of the building is nearly complete, although indentations are visible upon some of the columns, such as might have been made in wood by sharp weapons, to which the Mohummedans point as marks of the swords of the Islamite saints. The extreme length is about one hundred and fifty feet, and the breadth fifty. On either side of the temple, and before it, are the remains of triumphal arches similar to those of Sidhpoor.

A flight of steps, commencing at the keerttee stumbh, in front of the temple, descends between handsome piers to a 'koond,' or reservoir. The koond covers an area nearly four times as large as that of the temple itself.

The monotonous appearance of the steps is relieved by small niched shrines placed chequer-wise, and by larger shrines, terminating in spires, which rise in the centre of three of the sides. Around the koond may be traced the remains of other structures ; but their exact character it is now impossible to determine. The detached open mundup of the temple is now known under the name of 'Seeta's Choree,'[1] or marriage hall, and the reservoir (now called the Râm Koond) is a celebrated place of pilgrimage for Vaishnavite ascetics. (See Fig. 5.)

At Wâghel is a temple similar in style to those which have been described ; but of smaller dimensions. It consists of a single open mundup, one story in height, with pyramidal roof, three porticoes, and an adytum surmounted by a spire.

Reservoirs, such as that at Modheyra, are to be met with at Seehore, and other places. They were probably always attached, like the Râm Koond, to an adjacent temple ; but the shrines have, for the most part, perished. A curious combination of four small koonds, which, with a circular well in

chapter vii. The same volume deals with Anahilavāḍā (Unhilwārā or Unhilpoor), Vaḍnagar, and many other localities.]

[1] There is a similar detached porch in front of the temple at Barolli. *Vide* Fergusson's *Hand Book of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 112 ; and Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, iii, 1758. The porch of Barolli is also called a marriage-hall, and tradition assigns it to the Rajpootnee bride of a Prince of the Hoons [Hunas].

FIG. III

Mosque

Keertee Stumbh

PLAN OF THE ROODRA MÂLÂ AT SIDHPOOR

With one-fourth of the surrounding buildings restored

the centre, form a Greek cross, is to be found at Lothesur, not far from Modheyra.

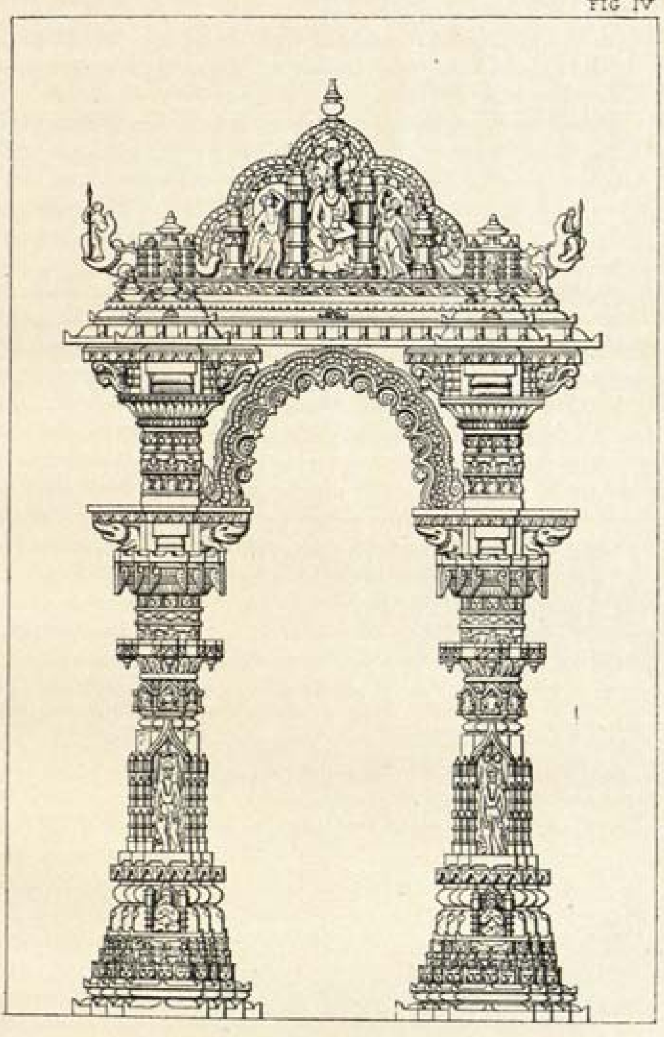
The usual form of tank was the multilateral, or almost circular, of which we have seen an instance at Junjoowârâ. Similar reservoirs occur at Moonjpoor, Syelâ, and many other places; some of them attaining a diameter of nearly seven hundred yards. The Suhusra Ling, at Unhilpoor, was probably of this class; and, judging from what is still traceable, of the largest dimensions. It was surrounded by numerous small shrines, and it is not incredible that these approximated to the number of one thousand. Near Gogo, in the peninsula, are the remains of a rectangular, or nearly square, reservoir, which is attributed to Sidh Râj, and called 'the Soneyreea 'tank.' Of the two celebrated reservoirs which are believed to have been constructed during the regency of Myenul Devee, the mother of Jye Singh—a period prolific in splendid works of architecture—the Mulâv, namely, at Dholka, and the Monsur at Veerumgâm, the latter requires a particular description. It is irregular in shape, and is popularly considered to have been constructed in imitation of the form of the conch-shell—the Hindoo war-trumpet. The usual 'ghât,' or flight of steps, surrounds the whole; in this instance ornamented by a multitude of small spire-covered shrines (many now wanting), which are supposed to have equalled in number the days of the year, and which in reality were more than three hundred. The shrines on one side of the tank are furnished with a pedestal for an image; those on the other side with a circular 'julâdhâr,' or basin. It is supposed that the former were consecrated to Shree Krishn, and the latter to Muhâ Dev. The water, collected from the surrounding country, passes, first of all, into a deep octagonal koond, where it leaves the sediment which it has collected. The koond is faced with stone, and ornamented on each side with a niche containing a figure sculptured in bold relief. Thence the water passes by a channel, lined with masonry, into the tunnel through which it enters the tank. The tunnel is divided into three cylinders, and upon the terrace which covers it is placed a large pavilion with pyramidal roof. This building has been restored in Mahratta times, and, one side of it having been built up, has

been dedicated as a temple to Mâtâ Boucherâjee. The surrounding ghât is, in several places, interrupted by roadways, which descend to the water's edge. On either hand of one of these is a larger temple, formed of a mundup with a double adytum and spire (see Fig. 6); and in the corresponding position, on the other side of the tank, is a flat-roofed colonnade.

Of the wells of this period, there remain, in different parts of the country, examples of two kinds. Some are large circular wells of ordinary construction, but containing galleried apartments; others are more properly described as 'wâvs' or 'bowlees.' The wâv (in Sanscrit, wâpeekâ) is a large edifice, of a picturesque and stately, as well as peculiar, character. Above the level of the ground, a row of four or five open pavilions, at regular distances from each other, usually square on the exterior, but sometimes, in the larger examples, passing into the octagonal form within, is alone visible; the roofs are supported on columns, and are, in the structures of the Hindoo times, pyramidal in form. The entrance to the wâv is by one of the end pavilions; thence a flight of steps descends to a landing immediately under the second dome, which is now seen to be supported by two rows of columns, one over the other. A second flight of steps continues the descent to a similar landing under the third pavilion, where the screen is found to be three columns in height. In this manner the descent continues stage by stage, the number of the columns increasing at each pavilion, until the level of the water is at last reached. The last flight of steps frequently conducts to an octagonal structure, in this position necessarily several stories high, and containing a gallery at each story. It is covered by the terminating dome, and is the most adorned portion of the wâv. The structure, which is sometimes eighty yards in length, invariably terminates in a circular well.

The most interesting relic of this nature is the wâv, called 'the Rânee's,' at Unhilpoor, of which, however, but little has been preserved. Others are to be found in many parts of Goozerat and Soreth, in various stages of preservation. There is one remarkable one, of uncertain date, but probably, from its architecture, as old as the days when the dynasty of Sidh Râj ruled, near the city of Ahmedabad. It is called 'Mâtâ

FIG IV



ROODRA MÂLÂ AT SIDHPOOR

Elevation of Keerttee Stumbh

'Bhuwânee's,' and is popularly attributed to the five Pânduvs. We have mentioned a wâv within the fortress of Junjoowârâ; there are Hindoo wâvs also at Wudwân, both within and without the walls, and in other places too numerous to mention.

The reservoirs, both wells and tanks, which we have described, were constructed, with the same general objects, 'for 'the thirst-suffering mortals from the four points of the 'heavens, for animals and for birds, that eighty-four lakhs of 'living creatures' might enjoy them. They are to be found commonly in localities which suffer much from drought—in Puttun-wârâ for example, stigmatized by Rânik Devee as the place where animalculæ die for want of water; or in positions where much traffic occurs—at the gates of cities or at cross roads. They were works of religious merit also; for it is said, 'than the virtue of building the wall of a city, greater by ten 'thousand times is the virtue of constructing a place of water;' they were offered as 'Krishn-gifts'; * they were dedicated to Doorgâ, 'she who is named Koonduleenee, who is in form as a 'well'; or to Wuroon, the god of water, 'the witness of 'virtuous actions.'[1] They were built, to cite another authority, 'for the uplifting from Nuruk (hell) of one hundred and one 'ancestors; for the increase of hereditary fame; for the increase 'of sons and sons' sons; for the enjoyment of Swerga (Para-'dise) during as long a period as the sun and moon shall 'endure.' The wâvs, like the koonds, were usually, if not universally, attached to temples; the tanks were consecrated by the symbols of Muhâ Dev himself which encircled them; their waters were sacred, presented already in offering to Shiva. The King of Benares, we are told by Merootoong, after enquiring of the Sândhee Vigraheek of Sidh Râj 'the fashion of the 'temples, wells, and other water-reservoirs of Unhilpoor,' made it a subject of reproach, that 'the water of the Suhusra 'Ling tank was Shiv-Nirmâlya,[2] and unfit for use.' The

[1] This title is given to Wuroon because gifts are made, and other 'virtu-'ous actions' performed, by the side of a river or at the edge of a tank or other water. In the ceremony called *Choollook*, or *Kol*, persons present a handful of water as a sign of the ratification of a gift. *Vide* p. 108, and note.

[2] Anything offered to Shiva is so called; and may not be taken again by the offerer, or devoted to a secular purpose.

ambassador asked in reply, 'Whence, then, do the people of 'Benares procure water?' and, receiving for answer that it was from the Ganges, rejoined, that if dedication to Shiva were a fault, it was one surely attaching equally to the sacred river which flowed from the forehead of the god. That these reservoirs were not intended for irrigation would, we think, sufficiently appear from their construction, and from the positions in which we find them, did we possess no knowledge but such as might be thence gathered of the purposes of their founders.

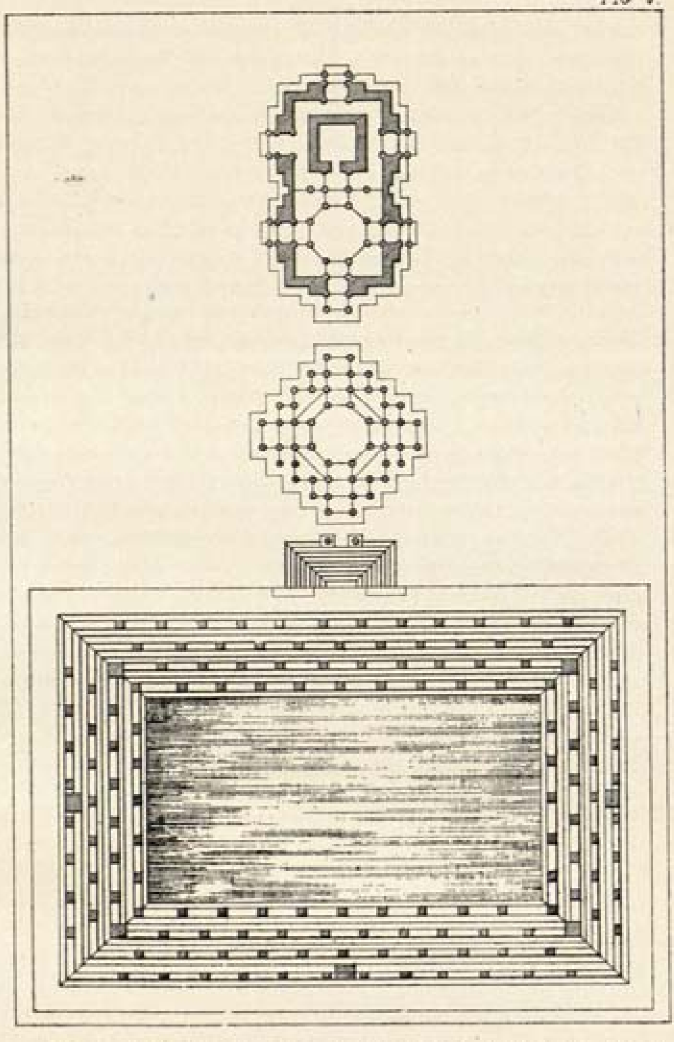
Such, then, are some of the relics of the kings of Unhilpoor. Their greatest and most enduring monument is, however, to be found in the fact, that, surpassing the boast of Augustus, they found their country a waste, and left it a land flowing with milk and honey. The contrast is striking; but the general result cannot be doubted, however difficult may be the task of tracing the steps which intervened. At the time when the Chowra dynasty, under Wun Râj, first established itself at Unhilwârâ, the country of Goozerat was destitute of any other inhabitants than the wild aboriginal tribes. Wullubhee had fallen, perhaps not long before, and Cambay, Broach, and other cities on the coast retained somewhat of their prosperity. Inland, even as far northwards as the borders of the salt-lake which separated Soreth from Goojur-râshtra, the hum of peopled cities might have been heard,—

> Wulleh and Wudwân,
> Puttun city was afterwards founded.

But from Umbâ Bhuwânee to the embouchure of the Sâbhermutee river, from the hills which form the barrier of Malwa to the flats about the Runn of Kutch (except where Shunkhpoor, Punchâsur, and, perhaps, a few small towns in their vicinity, sheltered on the edge of the desert, a remnant from the city of Kunuk Sen), the dominion of the beasts of prey was disputed only by men who were little less the children of the forest than themselves.[1] In the reign of the last of the Solunkhee princes, on the contrary, we behold the same tract of country united

[1] There are faint traditions, it is true, of the residence of *Brahmins* at Kaira and Wurnugger.

FIG V.



PLAN OF TEMPLE AND RESERVOIR AT MODHEYRA

under one strong government, studded with wealthy townships, adorned with populous cities, fenced with strong fortresses. The temple lifts its emulous spire above the dark foliage of the grove, out-topped as yet but by the rattling palm ; shrine-bordered tanks and galleried wells, right royally devised, are seen in spots moistened of old only by the showers of the monsoon ; and strings of camels laden with merchandise, or calvalcades of pilgrims furnished with rich offerings, hardly disturb—so familiar has their appearance now become—the antelope herds which formerly roamed alone over the tenantless plains.

The tale of Unhilwârâ's grandeur has been told ; there remains now that of her decay and desolation ; yet shall we perceive that her glorious morning shines no less brightly in contrast with the fitful, stormy day by which it is succeeded, than first it shone when chasing away the sable clouds of the preceding night. This fact, at least, we cannot fail to recognize ; though, beholding Ahmed like Wun Râj, the founder of a new and brilliant dynasty ; though observing his grandson, Mahmood, while he inscribes upon the rolls of fame a title almost as glorious as that of the Lion of Unhilpoor ; though viewing the banners of Goozerat, borne by these and other princes victoriously abroad—that never was she for one hour unwounded by domestic strife, from that day on which the sceptre was struck from the hand of Bheem Dev II., to the long-distant period when Râjpoot, Moslem, and Mahratta at length agreed to sheathe their swords, and to repose for the just arbitrement of their quarrels on the power, the wisdom, and the faith of the 'sea-dwelling stranger.'

CHAPTER XIV

THE WÂGHELAS—TEJ PÂL AND WUSTOO PÂL—MOUNT ABOO—THE PURMÂRS OF CHUNDRÂWUTEE

LUWUN PRUSAD, the son of the Sâmunt Ânâk Solunkhee, and of whose birth mention has been made in the history of the reign of Koomâr Pâl, is described by Merootoong as 'the minister of Shree Bheem.' He possessed Wâghel, and probably also Dhuwulgruh, or Dholka, a town which remained in the hands of his descendants until a late period. Luwun Prusâd married Mudun Râgnee, and had by her a son, Veer Dhuwul—the Veer Wâghela, or Veer Dhuwulung, of Chund Bhârot. The names of Veer Dhuwul, and of his father, and grandfather, are mentioned in the inscription on the temple, erected by Tej Pâl, upon Mount Aboo, dated A.D. 1231 ; and in a second inscription in the same shrine, Veer Dhuwul is described under the titles of Muhâ Munduleshwur and Rânâ.

Merootoong relates that Mudun Râgnee left the house of her husband, taking the child Veer Dhuwul with her, and went to live with Dev Raja Puttkeel, the husband of her deceased sister ; but that Veer Dhuwul, on attaining years of discretion, returned to the house of his father. The names of several of his cousins, as Sângun, Châmoond, and Raja, are mentioned as 'possessors of countries and towns ;' and of Veer Dhuwul it is said that he received a considerable territory from his father, to which he made additions by conquest. 'The twice-'born Châhud Sucheev' was his minister ; and the brothers, Tej Pâl and Wustoo Pâl, were also employed by him.

It is probable that after the death of Bheem, Veer Dhuwul Wâghela was the most powerful of the chieftains of Goozerat, if, indeed, he did not possess the royal rank which was certainly possessed by his successors. The few circumstances of a political character mentioned by Merootoong as having occurred during the time of Veer Dhuwul, would, however, convey the impression that a powerful central authority was

FIG. VI

ELEVATION OF ONE OF THE DOUBLE TEMPLES AT THE MONSUR TANK

wanting. Wustoo Pâl, it is said, having quarrelled with a merchant named 'Said,' perhaps a Mohummedan trader, at Stumbhteerth, or Cambay, Said sent to Broach for a chieftain named Shunkh to protect him from the minister. Wustoo Pâl, on his side, called in the aid of Loon Pâl, a Golo, who attacked Shunkh, and killed him, but received wounds in the action of which, in a few days, he died. The minister, it is said, erected over the spot where he fell the temple of 'Loon 'Pâl's Lord.'

On another occasion, 'the gooroo, of the Mlechh Sultan, 'whose name was Mâlee Munmukh,' having come to Goozerat while proceeding on a pilgrimage, though to what shrine is not mentioned, the brothers, Tej Pâl and Wustoo Pâl protected him from Veer Dhuwul and his father, who meditated his seizure—an act which won for them the future good will of the sultan.

'A contest for five villages' is mentioned, in which the combatants were on the one side Luwun Prusâd and Veer Dhuwul, and on the other, Shobun Dev, the father of Jyetul Devee, Veer Dhuwul's Queen. The Wâghelas were ultimately successful; but not before the young prince had been many times struck down in his father's presence.

On the death of Veer Dhuwul, one hundred and eighty-two servants having perished in the flames, Tej Pâl was obliged to interpose with a military force to prevent further sacrifices. The ministers placed Veesul Dev on the throne. Of this prince, nothing has been handed down; but he has been usually considered as the first of the Wâghela dynasty of Goozerat.

It is a curious fact, and one which strongly brings out to view the passive vitality of their institutions, that after each succeeding storm has swept over the land, while the clouds are as yet undispersed, and the re-appearing sun discloses little but fissures which have been rent by tempestuous torrents, the Hindoos are observed at once, without an effort, and, as it were, instinctively, proceeding in 'the old ways,' apparently as little sensible of sorrow for the past as they are of apprehension for the future. Mahmood, of Ghuznee, had hardly accomplished his disastrous homeward retreat, leaving behind

him Unhilwârâ despoiled, and Somnâth a heap of ruins, when the sound of the hammer and the chisel was heard upon Ârâsoor and Aboo, and stately fanes began to arise at Koombhâreea and Dailwârâ, in which an elaboration almost incredible and a finish worthy the hand of a Cellini, seem to express the founder's steadfast refusal to believe in Mlechh invaders, or iconoclastic destroyers, as other than the horrid phantoms of a disturbing dream.* And now, as the second Bheem closes his troubled career—as the sun of Unhilwârâ sinks with him never again to rise in unclouded brightness, while the crescent, perhaps, still waves over the capital, while the roar of battle has not well died away, and the cry of alarm and pain still resounds through the land—at Aboo and Shutroonjye the work is again resumed, and shrines, surpassing even the magnificence of former days, arise as dwelling places for those silent, ever-brooding, unmoved Teerthunkers.

Wustoo Pâl and Tej Pâl, the ministers of Veer Dhuwul Wâghela, but more widely known as the founders of the most magnificent of the temples of Dailwârâ, were Prâgwât, or Porwâl Wânceas of the Jain religion, descended from ancestors who had, for several generations, resided at Unhilwârâ. They were brought to Veer Dhuwul's notice by his former minister, Châhud Dev, and appear to have enjoyed his confidence to an unusual extent, though the terms in which this fact is noticed are curiously illustrative of the state of society and of the relations that existed between a sovereign and those he employed. The principals of their policy are thus described by Merootoong,—'That minister is clever, who, without placing 'his hand on any one's head, can increase the treasury; without 'putting any one to death, protect the country; without war, 'augment its territories.' The same author relates that when Veer Dhuwul entrusted Tej Pâl with the management of his affairs, he caused to be written upon a paper, which he presented to the minister, the following promise,—'Even if I be 'angry with you, rely upon it I will restore to you as much 'property as you are now possessed of;' and the inscription in the temple which they founded records that,—'Veer 'Dhuwul, the Choulookya, the practiser of what was right, 'by the advice of the two ministers, refused to listen to the

'voice of spies, even though they spoke. The two brothers, 'also, increased the kingdom of their master. Troops of 'horses and of elephants they fastened near his palace. The 'king, with happiness, enjoyed his possessions. The two 'ministers seemed to be his arms reaching down to his 'knees.'[1]

Mount Aboo is said to be most easily accessible from the direction of Seerohee and Jhâlor. On the Goozerat side the ascent which possesses the greatest interest is that from the village of Girwur; it is, however, impracticable except to foot-men. The traveller from the shrine of Umbâ Bhuwânee passes, for a long distance, through romantic highland scenery, his lonely pathway usually the bed of a mountain torrent. 'All is grand in this region,—lovely and wild, as if it were 'destined by nature to be the haunt of her favorite progeny, 'where human passions should never intrude to disturb the 'harmony of the scene. The sky is cloudless; the notes of 'cuckoos are heard responding to each other from amidst 'the deep foliage, while the jungle-fowl are crowing their 'matinals in the groves of bamboo which shelter them; and 'groups of grey partridge, nestled in the trees, vie with the 'ring-doves in expressions of delight, as the sun clears the 'alpine cliffs and darts his fervent rays among them. Others 'of the feathered tribe, not belonging to the plains, are flying 'about, while the wood-pecker's note is heard reverberating 'from the hard surface on which he plies the power of his bill. 'Fruits and flowers of various kinds and colors invite the 'inhabitants of the forest, whether quadruped or feathered, 'and the industrious bee here may sip the sweetest of sweets 'from jasmine, white or yellow, climbing the giant foliage, from 'câmbeer or cânoa, whose clustering purple and white flowers 'resemble the lilac, or from the almond-scented oleander 'which covers the banks of the stream on whose margin 'abundantly flourishes the *ricinus*, or the willow.' No human form appears to disturb the charm of this enchanting solitude, except, perhaps, the grave figure of some Rajpoot cavalier, a pilgrim to Umbâjee, with shield hanging at his back, and spear swaying on his shoulder, fills the vista of a long and narrow

[1] The chiromantic books assert that men with long arms are prosperous.

gorge, in which a handful of stout hearts might stand against a host,—or a group of quiet grain-carriers, with piled-up sacks and grazing cattle, occupies some lovely wild spot in the heart of the defile, where the crystal stream expands into a little turf-bordered pool. By-and-bye the hills slope away into a level valley, which, though more or less sandy, exhibits many fertile spots, producing abundant crops of grain, with little villages here and there, and rivulets flowing from the mountains that in the distance raise, in front and rear, their gigantic forms. Majestic Aboo, shrouded in its cloak of mist, now engrosses every thought; its varying outline filling the imagination with a thousand suggestive forms, until a near view is at last obtained of its precipitous face,—its dark recesses lined with forest and underwood, and streaked with many a silver stream,—its diverging shoulders pushed majestically forwards in their garb of sable, variegated, as the sun rises towards his meridian, with tints of brightest gold.

Over one of these spurs a path may be seen from the village of Girwur, winding like a thread upon the mountain's side, now rising and again sinking almost to its former level. Through a thick and tangled forest it pursues its lengthened ascent to a small spot of level ground, below an almost perpendicular scarp, where, amidst a grove of magnificent foliage, is embowered the shrine of Vushisht Moonee. The traveller who desires protection from the heat of the sun, rests here in a little garden filled with the strongly-perfumed flowering shrubs that are natives of the mountain, among which the yellow kewura is conspicuous; and sight and smell thus regaled, his sense of hearing is not less pleasingly entertained with the melodious murmuring of the waters which, pouring forth through a cow's mouth sculptured in the rock, are received into an excavated basin beneath it.

The temple of the Moonee is a small and unimportant edifice, sufficient to contain a black marble figure of the sage who, from the fire-fountain of Uchuleshwur, called the ancestors of the Rajpoot tribes. The deep-rolling royal drum at morning, mid-day, and evening, sounds before Vushisht, and contributes not a little to the effect of the gorgeous scenery which is filled with its sonorous tones. There is also a brass figure

here of the martial hero of Aboogurh, 'the terror of the 'Dunooj,' Dhârâwursh the Purmâr, who is represented in the act of supplication to the sage, the creator of his race.

From the shrine of Wushisht Moonee the ascent is continued by a long flight of steps cut in the living rock, which conduct at length to the level of the plains of Aboo. Arrived at this spot, the traveller may well fancy himself to have reached a new world—an island floating in the air. The table-land upon which he now stands is walled on all sides by abrupt and lofty cliffs, similar to those which he has ascended; it possesses an area of several miles; contains villages and hamlets; is ornamented by a lake and by more than one rivulet of water, and wears a coronet of mountain peaks, of which the highest is that called, from a little shrine that occupies it, 'The Saint's 'Pinnacle,' and the most remarkable, that which is crowned by 'the fortress that cannot be shaken,' the renowned Uchulgurh.

The country between the shrine of Wushisht and Dailwârâ is thus pleasingly described by the annalist of Rajpootana.[1] 'This excursion revealed to me by far the most interesting 'portion of the table-land of Aboo. There is more of culti-'vation, the inhabitants are more numerous, the streams and 'foliage more abundant; here and there a verdant carpet 'decked the ground, while some new wonder, natural or arti-'ficial, appeared at every step. The kamérie, as usual unseen, 'uttered its welcome note, and the strong clear voice of the 'blackbird issued from a dark coppice, whence stole a limpid 'brook. Every patch where corn could grow was diligently 'tilled, and in this short space I passed four of the twelve 'hamlets of Aboo. These were in harmony with the scene; 'the habitations neat and comfortable, circular in form like 'wigwams, and coated with clay, washed with a light ochre 'colour. On the margin of each running brook was the *aret*, 'or Egyptian wheel for irrigation, and, as the water lies close 'to the surface, the excavations were not required to be deep. 'The boundaries of these arable fields, chiefly of the prickly '*thoor*, or cactus, were clustered with the white dog-rose, here

[1] See for the extracts here made, Colonel Tod's *Travels in Western India*, chaps. v and vi.

'called *khooja*, with which was intermingled the kind called 'seoti (sacred to Seo or Siva), much cultivated in the gardens 'of India. The pomegranate was literally growing out of a 'knoll of granite, where there was scarcely any soil beyond 'the decomposed surface of the rock. The apricot or necta-'rine appeared occasionally, covered with fruit, but being yet 'quite green, it seems probable that it will never ripen. 'They also brought grapes, which, from their size, I should 'have deemed cultivated. These, as well as the citron, which 'I did not see, but which they pointed out in a deep valley, 'are claimed amongst the indigenous products of Aboo. The 'mango was abundant, and a rich and elegant parasite, with 'a beautiful pendant blue and white flower, resembling the 'lobelia, found root in its moss-covered branches. This 'parasite is called *ambatri*(from *amba*, mango) by the moun-'taineers, with whom it appeared to be an especial favourite, 'as I observed that, whenever it grew within reach, it was 'plucked and "wreath'd in their dark locks" and their turbans. 'The trees generally, from their extreme humidity, are 'covered with a vesture of grass and moss, and at Uchulgurh 'the lofty *cajoor*, or date tree, was coated to the uppermost 'branch. It is from this deposit that the parasites spring. 'Of flowers there was a profusion; amongst them were the '*chaméli* or jasmine, and all the varieties of the balsam, as 'common as thistles. The golden *chumpa*, the largest of the 'flowering trees, rarely met with in the plains, and which, 'like the aloe, is said to flower but once in a century, was 'seen at every hundred yards, laden with blossoms and filling 'the air with perfume. In short, it was—

'A blending of all beauties, streams and dells,
'Fruit, foliage, crag, wood, corn field, mountain, vine,
'And chiefless castles, breathing stern farewells
'From gray, but leafy walls, where Ruin greenly dwells.'

The Nukhee-tulâv is a picturesque lake studded with foliage-covered islands, from among which frequent palm trees lift their swaying heads, and surrounded by rocks wooded to the margin. When Colonel Tod saw it, 'the water-fowls 'skimmed its surface, unheeding and unheeded by man; for 'on this sacred hill neither the fowler's gun nor fisher's net is

'known; "thou shalt not kill," being the supreme command, 'and the penalty of disobedience, death.' The lake of Aboo has, however, since that time been gradually surrounded by European residences; a barrack for convalescent soldiers has been erected in its vicinity, and a Christian church disputes with the shrines of Âdeenâth and Uchuleshwur the possession of the sacred hill.

Near the Nukhee-tulâv, a broad and well constructed footway affords easy access to Mount Aboo from the village of Unâdurâ at its foot, and the neighbouring cantonment of Deesa.

Dailwârâ, or the region of temples, is near the Nukhee-tulâv. It contains other shrines besides the two principal ones founded by Tej Pâl and Veemul Shâ, but these are both the most ancient and the most magnificent. The temple of Veemul Shâ was founded, as we have seen, in A. D. 1031, before which time no Jain edifice appears to have existed on the sacred mountain. Anything more than the most general description of these celebrated shrines is unnecessary in this place.[1] They are not remarkable for size or for their external appearance, but internally they are finished with all that elaborate elegance which is usually supposed to belong only to the art of the goldsmith. The principal feature in each is the usual octagonal dome, forming a vestibule to the adytum, wherein the objects of worship are enshrined, and around which is a columned peristyle, roofed with numerous domes. The whole edifice is of white marble, and the sculptured ornaments with which every part of the surface is covered, are so finely chiselled, as to suggest the idea that they have been moulded of wax, the semi-transparent edges almost realizing, by their hardly perceptible thickness, the mathematician's definition of a line. The pendant which hangs from the centre of the dome of the temple of Tej Pâl is particularly remarkable, and rivets the attention of every visitor. As Colonel Tod justly remarks, 'the delineation of it defies the pen, and would tax to the 'utmost the pencil of the most patient artist;' and he is secure

[1] They are described in Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 69, et seq., and illustrations of them given. See also *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindoostan*, by the same author.*

in asserting, that no ornament of the most florid style of gothic architecture can be compared with it in richness. 'It appears 'like a cluster of the half-disclosed lotus, whose cups are so 'thin, so transparent, and so accurately wrought, that it fixes 'the eye in admiration.'[1] The sculpture of these temples does not, however, confine itself to the representation of inanimate natural objects, it exercises itself also upon the scenes of domestic life, the labors of navigation and commerce, and the struggles of the battle-field; and it may be safely asserted, that the student of antiquities, who should devote sufficient attention to these bas-reliefs, would be amply repaid by a large increase of knowledge regarding many interesting points in the manners and customs of mediæval India.

Colonel Tod ascended to the summit of the Saint's Pinnacle, the loftiest of the peaks of Aboo, where, before his time, European foot had never trod. 'Although presenting internally 'scarcely any sensible elevation above the crest of the mountain, as we approached through the plains of Marwar, it 'towers full seven hundred feet above the level of its plateau. 'A strong chilling wind blew from the south, to avoid whose 'influence the cautious mountaineers, coiling themselves in 'their black blankets, lay prostrate on the ground, sheltered 'behind a projecting rock. The picture was equally grand 'and novel; masses of cloud floated under our feet, through 'which the sun occasionally darted a ray, as if to prevent our 'being dazzled with too much glory. A small circular platform, having a low parapet wall on the outer side, crowned 'the giddy height. On one side was a cavern, about twenty 'feet square, within which is a block of granite, bearing the 'impress of the feet of Data Brigu, an incarnation of Vishnoo, '—the grand object of the pilgrim's attainment,—and in

[1] 'No time and no pains,' says Mr. Fergusson, speaking of the temple of Tej Pâl and Wustoo Pâl,' would ever have enabled me to transfer to 'paper the lace-like delicacy of the fairy forms into which the patient 'chisel of the Hindu has carved the white marble of which it is composed.' Vide *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindoostan.*' In his later work, the same author has the following in reference to the Hindoo pendant: 'Its forms, too, generally have a lightness and elegance 'never even imagined in Gothic art; it hangs from the centre of a dome 'more like a lustre of crystal drops than a solid mass of marble or of stone.'

'another corner are the pudoocâ, or footsteps, of Râmâ Nund, 'the great apostle of the Seeta ascetics. In this gloomy abode 'dwells a disciple of the order, who rings a bell on the approach 'of a stranger, continuing the uproar until an offering induces 'silence. The staffs of pilgrims were heaped in piles around 'the footsteps of the saint, as memorials of their successful 'intrepidity. Caves innumerable were seen in various parts 'of the mountain, indicative of a Troglodyte population 'in former ages; and there were many curious orbicular 'holes, which could only be compared to cannon shot. I 'patiently awaited the termination of the struggle between the 'powers of light and darkness, in conversation with the 'recluse. He told me, that during the rainy season, when the 'atmosphere is cleared of all impurities, the citadel of Jodh-'poor and the desert plain, as far as Balotra on the Loony, 'were visible. It was some time before I could test this 'assertion, though, during occasional outbreaks of the sun, we 'discerned the rich valley, termed Bheetril, extending to 'Seerohee; and nearly twenty miles to the east, the far-famed 'shrine of Umbâ Bhuwânee, amongst the cloud-capped peaks 'of the Ârâwullee. At length, however, Soorya burst forth 'in all his majesty, and chasing away the sable masses, the 'eye swept over the desert, until vision was lost in the blend-'ing of the dark blue vault with the dusky arid soil. All 'that was required to form the sublime was at hand; and 'silence confirmed the charm. If the eye, diverted from the 'vast abyss beneath, turned but half a circle to the right, it 'rested on the remains of the castle of the Purmârs, whose 'dusky walls refused to reflect the sun-beams; while the slender 'palmyra, as if in mockery of their decay, fluttered its ensign-'like leaves amidst the ruined courts of a race who once 'deemed their sway eternal. A little further to the right 'rose the clustering domes of Dailwârâ, backed by noble 'woods, and buttressed on all sides by fantastic pinnacles, 'shooting like needles from the crest of the plateau, on whose 'surface were seen meandering several rills pursuing their 'devious course over the precipitous faces of the mountain. All 'was contrast,—the blue sky and sandy plain, the marble fanes 'and humble wigwam, the stately woods and rugged rocks.'

Descending from the Saint's Pinnacle, the next objects of interest are the fire-fountain and the shrine of Uchuleshwur, one of the most renowned in the fabulous annals of the Hindoos. 'The Ugnee-koond is about nine hundred feet long by two 'hundred and forty in breadth, excavated in the solid rock, 'and lined with solid masonry of immensely large bricks. An 'insulated mass of rock has been left in the centre of the 'koond, on which are the ruins of a shrine to Mâtâ, the 'universal mother. On the crest of the northern face of the 'koond is a group of small temples dedicated to the Pândoo 'brothers, but, like the former, a mass of ruins. On the 'western side is the shrine of Uchuleshwur, the tutelary 'divinity of Aboo. There is nothing striking as to magni-'tude, and still less as to decoration, in this; but it possesses a 'massive simplicity, which guarantees its antiquity. It occu-'pies the centre of a quadrangle, surrounded by smaller fanes, 'alike primitive in form, and built of blocks of blue slate. ' . . . On the same side as this temple, and on the very 'verge of the Ugnee-koond, is the mausoleum of Rao Maun, 'of Seerohee, who fell a victim to poison while in one of the 'Jain temples. His body was burned near the shrine of his 'patron deity, when five queens accompanied him to Yum 'Lok. . . . On the east side of the fire-fountain the remains 'of a temple, sacred to the founder of his race, the first of 'the Purmârs, strewed the ground. The statue, however, 'of Adeepâl is firm upon its pedestal, and intact—a type 'of ancient days, of antique costume, and early realities. It 'is of white marble, about five feet in height, and represents 'Adeepâl in the act of slaying, with an arrow, Bhyns Âsoor, 'a buffalo-headed monster of Titanian brood, who used to 'drink, during the night, the sacred waters of the fire-fountain, 'to guard which the Purmâr was created. . . . I quitted 'the Ugnee-koond for Uchulgurh, whose ruined towers 'were buried in the dense masses of cloud that surrounded us. 'Having completed the ascent, I entered this once regal 'abode through the Hunoomân portal, which is composed of 'two noble towers built with huge blocks of granite, black 'with the rude blasts of some thousand winters. The towers 'had been connected at top by a guard room, and the gate

'served as the entrance to the lower fort, whose dilapidated 'walls were discoverable up the irregular ascent. Another 'portal conducted to the inner fortress. The first object 'that strikes the view on passing the latter gate is the Jain 'temple to Pârusnâth, erected at the sole expense of a banker 'of Mandoo, and at present under repair. The upper fortress 'is attributed to Rânâ Koombho, who, when driven from 'Mewar, raised the banner of the sun on the long-aban-'doned battlements of the Purmârs; but he merely repaired 'this, the donjon of Uchulgurh, which, with the interior works, 'is of the most remote antiquity. A small lake in the keep is 'called Sawun-Bhadoon, and well merits the names of the two 'chief months of the monsoon, for in the middle of June it is 'yet full of water. On the most elevated knoll, to the east, 'are the remains of an alarum-tower of the Purmârs; from 'this point the eye, occasionally piercing the swift-scudding 'clouds, had glimpses of the ruined altars and palaces of the 'brave race, who, on the spot whence I surveyed them, had 'fought and bled in their defence.'

Before bidding a final adieu to the towers of Uchulgurh and to the interesting Aboo, it will be well to say a few words of the Purmâr family, who were, for many years, their sovereigns. Their capital was the fortified city of Chundrâwutee, the ruins of which may still be seen in a country thickly covered with jungle, on the banks of the Bunâs, about twelve miles from the foot of Aboo, and little more than the same distance from the shrines of Umbâ Bhuwânee and Târingâ.[1] The city itself is now overgrown with rank vegetation; its reservoirs and wells are choked up; its temples are destroyed; and its remains daily despoiled of their marble materials. Judging from the fragments which are strewn over an extensive plain, it must have been considerable in point of size; and its pretensions to great refinement and riches may be admitted from the beautiful remains of its marble edifices, of which twenty were discovered when the spot was first visited by Europeans. The house of Chundrâwutee possessed also Prulhâdun Puttun, or Pallhun-

[1] [See Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vols. ii, pp. 264–70; xxiii, p. 125; *I. G.* (1908), *s. v.* Jhālrapātān. The ruins of the ancient city lie to the south of the modern town. Abul Fazl says the city was founded by Chandra Sena.]

poor, a town which was founded by the warlike Prulhâdun Dev, the brother of Dhârâwursh.

The first of the Purmârs who are mentioned are Shree Dhoomrâj, and his successors, Dhundhook, Dhroov, and Bhut —'heroes invincible by the elephant crowd of their enemies.' From them descended Râm Dev, the father of Yusho Dhuwul, who reigned at Aboo during the time when Koomâr Pâl was its paramount sovereign. The sons of Yusho Dhuwul were the celebrated brothers, Dhârâwursh and Prulhâdun Dev; of whom the former left a son, Shree Som Singh Dev, who became his successor, and who is mentioned as 'Muhâ Mundul-'eshwur,' in A. D. 1231, when Bheem Dev II was Muhâ Râj Adheerâj, in Unhilwârâ. Som Singh again had a son, named Krishn Râj Dev.

The Purmârs, however, gave way, apparently during the reign of the son of Dhârâwursh, to the Chohâns of Nadole, one of whom named Loond, or Loonig, is stated in the inscription on the temple of Veemul Shâ (dated A. D. 1222), to have slain the Munduleek, and acquired the sovereignty of Aboo. Loonig's son was Tej Singh, who, with his son Kânhur Dev and his grandson Sâmunt Singh, are mentioned in an inscription on the temple of Wushisht (dated A. D. 1338), in which Kânhur Dev is styled Prince of Chundrâwutee. The annals of the Deora Rajpoots, a branch of the Chohâns of Nadole, state that 'Rao Loombho' conquered Aboo and Chundrâwutee, and transferred to himself the sovereignty of the Purmârs, in a battle fought at the village of Baraillee, 'where Merhutungi, 'son of Aggun Sen, fell, with seven hundred of his kindred.' The final struggle, according to this authority, took place in A. D. 1303, and gave Chundrâwutee to the Deora Chohâns; Aboo having been conquered by them seven years before. 'Between these periods, however, the Chohâns had been 'gradually reducing the inferior fiefs of the Purmârs, each 'conquest giving birth to a new branch; and many of these 'being made without the aid of their suzerain, their descen-'dants, such as the chiefs of Madar and Girwur, are disposed 'to pay but a scanty obedience to his representative.'

Another of the Aboo inscriptions specifies Sârung Dev as sovereign of Unhilwârâ in A. D. 1294, and Veesul Dev as

governor, under him, of eighteen-hundred munduls; having his residence at Chundrâwutee. This Veesul Dev may have been merely the officer of the King of Unhilwârâ, temporarily holding the government of the district. We may suppose that on the irruption of the Chohâns, Sârung Dev occupied the disputed territory of his vassals with his own troops. There is, however, still another statement which is not so easily reconciled with what has been mentioned above. A second Loondh Dev, as is recorded on a slab in the temple of Uchuleshwur (dated A. D. 1321), who was descended from the Chohâns of Sâmbhur, and the names of whose ancestors are entirely different from those of the former Loond, or Loonig, 'acquired the district of Chundrâwutee, and the pleasant 'mountain Urbood,' and placed statues of himself and of his queen in the presence of Uchuleshwur.

From this digression we return, for a short time, to the story of the Wâghelas. Of Veesul Dev, the son of Veer Dhuwul, as has been already remarked, there is little known. Bardic tradition relates that a famine occurred during his reign, which he was instrumental in alleviating, and it is said that he founded, or rather repaired, the town of Veesulnugger, and the fortress of Durbhâwutee, or Dubhoee.[1]

An inscription in the temple of Somnâth, at Dev Puttun, dated A. D. 1264, supplies us with the name of a prince to whom are attributed all the titles of a paramount sovereign—'Purumeshwur Bhuttârk, Shree Châlook Chukruwurtee, 'Muhâ Râj Adheerâj Shreemud Urjoon Dev.' The heraldic bards of the Wâghela family state, from their traditional rolls, that Urjoon Dev was the successor of Veesul Dev; but mention nothing relating to the occurrences of his reign. He ruled, it appears, at Unhilwârâ, and followed the religion of Shiva. Of the 'numerous princes' who obeyed him, there are mentioned Rânik Shree Someshwur Dev; perhaps the Purmâr Prince of Chundrâwutee; and the Chowra chiefs—Pâlook Dev, Râm Dev, Bheem Singh, and others. His minister was Shree Mull Dev, and he had other officers of the Mohummedan

[1] See, for a tradition in which the name of Veesul Dev, King of Puttun, is connected with Dubhoee, Forbes's *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 335–7. Original edition.*

faith, as Hoormuz of Belacool, and Khoja Ibrahim, son of the Nakhoda Noor-ood-deen Feeroz; but nothing is said of the offices which they filled further than is suggested by the title 'Nakhoda';[1] nor is their appearance in Goozerat, as royal officers under a Hindoo sovereign, at all accounted for.

Following Urjoon Dev, the bards of the Wâghelas place Luwun Raja, a prince who is not mentioned by other authorities, and of whom they, themselves, have no information to give; and next to him, Sârung Dev, who appears in the Aboo inscriptions as sovereign of Unhilwârâ, in A. D. 1294, having under him Veesul Dev, already mentioned as Munduleshwur of Chundrâwutee. The successor of Sârung Dev was Kurun Wâghela, known by the surname of 'Ghelo,' or 'insane,' the last of the Hindoo princes of Unhilpoor.

[1] [Persian *Nā-Khudā*, 'the skipper of a native vessel,' Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 612 ff.]

CHAPTER XV

RAJA KURUN WÂGHELA

THE closing scenes of the drama of Unhilwârâ were now to be played. In the year A. D. 1296, Allah-ood-deen Khiljy having murdered him who was not only his sovereign, but also his benefactor and his uncle, stepped over the old man's corpse to the throne of Delhi, and causing the public prayer to be read in his name, commenced a reign of cruelty and bloodshed, in which he was destined to acquire wealth and power such as were unequalled by any prince who sat before him on the throne of Hindoostan, and to surpass by far the almost fabulous riches accumulated in the ten campaigns of Mahmood of Ghuznee. 'It being the will of God,' says the author of the *Meerât Ahmudee*,* 'that the faith and laws of the 'Prophet should be made known, the sovereignty and power 'of the tribes already noticed came to an end, and were trans- 'ferred to the supporters of our pure religion and illustrious 'law, in order that the light of the exalted faith might shine 'resplendent as the sun amidst that dark region of infidelity ; 'and we, by publishing the words of truth and obeying the 'commandments of that religion, forbidding us to do evil, 'might turn away the people from the terrible desert of error, 'and lead them on the high road of salvation.'

In the commencement of the year A. D. 1297, Aluf Khân, the brother of the sultan, Allah-ood-deen, and Noosrut Khân, his prime minister, were sent with an army to effect the reconquest of Goozerat. Laying waste the country, they again occupied with a Mohummedan garrison the city of Wun Râj, its sovereign, Raja Kurun Wâghela, flying before them to take refuge with the Mahratta prince, Râm Dev, Raja of Devgurh, in the Dekkan. No motive, in addition to the lust of dominion, was required to attract the Moslem invaders, but the Hindoo bards, who delight in assigning a domestic occurrence as the

cause of any great political event, have, on the present occasion, recorded the following story :—' Kurun Ghelaro,' say they, ' had two ministers, Mâdhuv, and Keshuv. They were Nâgur ' Brahmins, and it was by them that the Mâdhuv well, which ' still exists at Wudwân, was constructed. The raja took ' away from her husband Mâdhuv's wife, who was a *pudmeenee*,[1] ' and he slew Keshuv. On the death of his brother, Mâdhuv ' went to Delhi, to Allah-ood-deen, and brought in the Mohum-' medans. At this period the gates of the cities and towns ' in Goozerat were kept shut in the daytime ; cattle grazed ' within the city walls ; people tied a fold of their turbans ' under their chins that they might be ready for flight. In ' the year A. D. 1300, the Toorks entered Goozerat. Mâdhuv ' presented Allah-ood-deen with three hundred and sixty ' horses, and procured for himself the office of civil minister ' of the country. Aluf Khân was the military governor. ' He commanded a lakh of horsemen, fifteen hundred elephants, ' twenty thousand foot soldiers, and there were with him ' forty-five officers who were entitled to use kettle-drums. ' He took Goozerat from the Wâghelas.'

Kurun Raja, in his precipitate retreat, had been compelled to abandon his wives, children, elephants, baggage and treasure, all which fell into the hands of the conquerors. Among the Rânees thus made captives by the enemies of their race and religion was Kowlâ Devee, ' who, for her beauty, wit, and ' accomplishments, was the flower of India.' She was carried to the harem of the sultan, and became the cause of further miseries to her country and her family. Aluf Khân and the vizier proceeded to plunder Cambay, which, being a wealthy town and full of merchants, yielded an immense booty to the conquerors. Here Noosrut Khân seized by force a handsome slave belonging to a merchant of Cambay, who, afterwards attracting the attention of the sovereign, rose to great eminence under the title of Mullik Kâfoor. The Mohummedans also took care to repeat their periodical achievement of ' destroying ' the idol of Somnâth, which had been again set up after the ' time of Mahmood of Ghuznee.'

There is no further mention of the affairs of Goozerat until

[1] *Vide* foot-note, p. 155.

the year A. D. 1304, about which time, it is said, Aluf Khân was again appointed to the government of that country, and sent thither with a large army. He built at Unhilwârâ, says the author of *Meerât Ahmudee*, 'The Friday mosque, of 'white marble, which remains at the present time, and the 'pillars of which are so numerous that one often makes a 'mistake in counting them. They also relate that it was once 'an idol temple converted to a mosque; but it is, in short, a 'wonderful and noble building, which was then in the centre 'of the city, though now distant from the part inhabited.'

In A. D. 1306, Kâfoor, the former slave of Cambay, who had been purchased for a thousand deenars, but now the favorite of the sovereign and the envy of the nobles, was invested with the title of Mullik Naib, and placed in command of an army, led by many officers of renown, and destined 'to 'subdue the countries of the south of India.' Among other provincial officers, Aluf Khân, governor of Goozerat, was instructed to co-operate in the meditated conquest of the Dekkan. It was at this time that Kowlâ Devee, now the favorite sultana of Allah-ood-deen, becoming acquainted with the intended expedition, sought the royal presence and solicited a boon from her imperial slave. Before she was taken prisoner, she informed him, she had borne two daughters to her Rajpoot husband. One of them, the eldest, she had heard had since died, but the other, whose name was Dewul Rânee, and who was only four years old when she was torn from her mother's embrace, was still alive. She therefore begged that it would please the sultan to give such orders to his generals as should ensure their obtaining possession of Dewul Rânee, and sending her to Delhi.

Mullik Naib Kâfoor received accordingly the royal mandate, and having encamped at Sultânpoor, sent orders to the unhappy Kurun Raja, in his retreat in Bâglânâ, to deliver up the Princess Dewul, or prepare to withstand the power of the imperial arms. The time, however, had not yet quite arrived when the Rajpoot was accustomed, in bitterness of heart, to surrender his beloved daughter to what he felt to be a pollution worse than death, and to console his miserable necessity with the sad proverb, 'When the skies rain fire, the father must

'shield himself with his child.' The clansman of Bheem Dev, the rightful successor of the lion-hearted Sidh Râj, retained, amidst all his misfortunes, a sense of the dignity of his race, and 'could by no means be brought to agree to this 'demand.' Finding that his threats were of no avail with the unfortunate Prince of Unhilwârâ, thus standing like a wounded lion at bay, Kâfoor, the imperial deputy, continued his march, contenting himself with directing that Aluf Khân, with the troops of Goozerat, should endeavour to accomplish the desired object by leading his army through the mountains of Bâglânâ.

Aluf Khân was, however, here opposed by Kurun Raja, whose desperate valour, during a period of two months, in which several actions were fought, defeated him in every attempt to force a passage. While the last of the kings of Unhilwârâ thus maintained an heroic, but almost hopeless struggle, he received solicitations for the hand of Dewul Rânee from another prince, who, though of Mahratta race, and in happier days no equal match for a daughter of the Châlookya blood, still hoped, in this hour of stern necessity, to win the reluctant consent of Kurun. Shunkul Dev, the Prince of Devgurh,[1] had long aspired to the hand of Dewul Rânee, and now his own brother Bheem approached Kurun with presents, offered the aid of Devgurh, and urged that, as the princess was the assigned cause of the war, the leader of the Mohummedans, ascertaining her to be already under the protection of a husband, would despair of obtaining his end, and retire to Hindoostan. Kurun relied much on the young prince's offer of aid—it was as a straw cast to a drowning man; he felt, too, that a Hindoo, though of inferior lineage, was a less bitter alternative than the despised and detested Mlechh, and, consenting to the proposal, he reluctantly promised the hand of his daughter to Shunkul Dev.

[1] For an account of the '*Devagiri Yádavas*,' to which race Shunkul Dev belonged, vide *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iv, p. 26. [The Yādavas of Devgiri (Daulatābād) were the last independent sovereigns of the Deccan. Their greatest king was Rāmchandra, who was defeated by Alā-ud-dīn, A. D. 1294. He was the patron of Hemādpant. The last of the line was Harapāla, slain by the Mahommedans A. D. 1318.]

But it was too late; and Kurun was destined to drink the cup of humiliation even to the dregs. Aluf Khân, hearing of the proposed marriage, was much concerned lest the sultan should impute the result to his neglect, and resolved, at all hazards, to secure the princess before her departure. He knew the power which Kowlâ Devee wielded, and was apprehensive that his own life hung on his success. He laid the case before his officers; urged that they were equally involved with himself, and engaged their unanimous support. A system of operations was carefully matured; the mountain passes were simultaneously entered; the retreat of Kurun Raja was discovered and broken up; his adherents were dispersed, and he himself was compelled to fly to Devgurh, leaving elephants, tents, and equipage on the field. Aluf Khân pursued him through the defiles of the mountains, and at last arrived within a single march of the fortress of Devgurh. He had entirely lost the track of the fugitives; he was in deep despair, and seemed as if he had thrown his last die and found the chance against him. But accident gave him the success which energy and well-laid schemes had failed of securing.

While the Mohummedan leader halted for two days to refresh his troops among the mountains, a party of his soldiers, three hundred in number, set off to explore the wonders of Ellora. As they traversed the defiles that lead to those celebrated caves, they came suddenly upon a body of Mahratta horse, bearing the banner of Devgurh. It was the retinue of Bheem Dev, who conveyed his brother's long-sought bride towards her destined home. The Mohummedans, though few in number, were too far advanced to possess the opportunity of retreat; they stood on the defensive, and prepared to receive the enemy. Bheem Dev, solicitous for his charge, would gladly have avoided an encounter, but the foe was before him, the road to Devgurh was in their possession, and he saw no resource but that of battle. The two parties instantly engaged; at the first onset some of the Hindoos fled, and an arrow piercing the horse of Dewul Rânee, she fell to the ground. A desperate struggle ensued; the swords of Seerohee and the scymitars of Arabia, alike reddened with blood, crossed over the prostrate form of the daughter of Kurun; and a misdirected blow might soon

have saved the honor of her race at the expense of her life, had not the alarm of her female slaves induced them to discover to the Mohummedans the name and rank of her whom they had long so vainly sought, and at last so strangely found.

The Princess of Unhilwârâ was conveyed with respect and care to the camp of Aluf Khân, and that commander, well aware how acceptable the prize would be to his sovereign, over whom the lady's mother exercised an influence so supreme, determined upon prosecuting his military operations no further, and returning to Goozerat, proceeded thence with his fair young charge to Delhi, where he placed her in the arms of the sultana. She had scarcely arrived at the seat of empire, before her 'incomparable beauty' subdued the heart of the Shahzâda, the son of Allah-ood-deen. She became his bride, and thus attained the rank for which many a Moslem fair one doubtless sighed in vain; yet, while the imperial court rang with the praises of her victorious charms, and the lyre of Umeer Khoosroo immortalised the illustrious loves of Khizr Khân and Dewul Rânee,[1] who shall assert that no shade of sadness rested on her spirit at the thought of the disappointed affection of Shunkul Dev, or the deeper grief of her bereaved and dishonored father?

History records no more of the last and most unfortunate of the sovereigns of Unhilwârâ. He died, probably, a nameless fugitive; driven from his throne and his country; despoiled of the honor dearer to a Rajpoot than either power or home; deserted, in his affliction, by his wife, and even by the child whose fate it was to add the last and bitterest pang to his misfortunes. Yet were the sorrows of Raja Kurun far from unavenged. The plunder, which the victors had borne from the despoiled sea-port of Unhilwârâ, concealed a viper which was destined to sting them to the heart. Years rolled on, and victory seemed chained to the blood-besmeared banners of Allah-ood-deen; yet Nemesis hovered in the air with her slow-descending but inexorable sword. 'The king, elated by the success of his 'arms, abandoned himself to inordinate pride. He listened 'no longer to advice, as he sometimes condescended to do in

[1] [For notice of the poet 'Umeer Khoosro' see Beale, *Oriental Biogr. Dict.*, ed. Keene, 1894, *s. v.* Khusro, Amir.]

'the beginning of his reign, but everything was executed by 'his irrevocable word. Yet it is related that the empire 'never flourished so much as in his reign. Order and justice 'prevailed in the most distant provinces, and magnificence 'raised her head in the land. Palaces, mosques, universities, 'baths, mausolea, forts, and all kinds of public and private 'buildings, seemed to rise as if by magic. Neither did there, 'in any age, appear such a concourse of learned men from all 'parts.

'But the king seemed to have now reached the zenith of his 'splendour and power; and as everything is liable to perish, 'and stability belongs to God alone, so the fullness of the 'king's prosperity began to decline, and the lustre of his reign 'to fade away.' He resigned the reins of government entirely into the hands of Mullik Kâfoor, the thousand-deenar slave of Cambay, whom he blindly supported in every impolitic and tyrannical measure, thus giving disgust to the nobles, and creating universal discontent among the people. Mullik Kâfoor, who had long aspired to the throne, now began seriously to form schemes for the extirpation of the royal line. Khizr Khân, the bridegroom of Dewul Rânee, and Aluf Khân, the destroyer of her father's throne, were among his first victims, having been accused by him of conspiring against the life of the sultan, and involved in subtle and malignant meshes such as the hand of an Iago alone can weave. 'At this time, also, 'the flames of universal insurrection, which had long been 'smothered, began to burst forth, and were first apparent in 'Goozerat, which rose in insurrection,' as if the very soil, which had so long obeyed the successors of Wun Râj, performed her last act of fealty in lighting the funeral pyre of their destroyer. To repress this rebellion the sultan dispatched a distinguished officer, named Kumâl Khân, but the followers of Aluf Khân, the murdered viceroy, defeated him with great slaughter. At the same moment, the Rajpoots of Cheetore, once again mindful of their ancient fame, hurled the Mohummedan officers from their walls and asserted their independence; while Hurpâl, the husband of the sister of Shunkul Dev, raised the Dekkan in arms, and expelled the Moslem garrisons.

On receiving these accounts Allah-ood-deen, 'the murderer

bit his own flesh in his impotent fury. His grief and rage tended only to increase his disorder, which seemed to defy the power of medicine ; and, on the evening of the nineteenth of December, in the year of Christ thirteen hundred and sixteen, he gave up the ghost, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by the villain whom he had raised from the dust to filch from him the lives of his flesh and blood, and his own dearly bought imperial power.

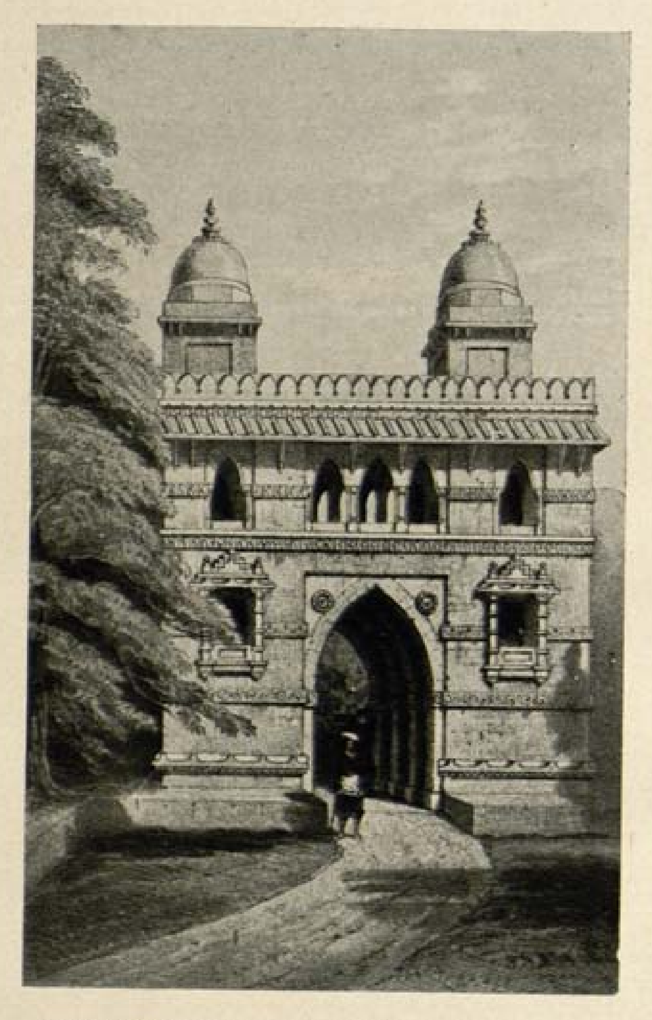
APPENDIX

THE VĀGHELAS

[The Vāghelas were a branch of the Solaṅkis, for Dhavala, a chief of Bhīmapalli, married Tribhuvanapāla's sister (see Appendix to Chapter IV). They had a son Āṇāka, who was given Vāghela in return for his services (p. 191) (Vāghela is 10 miles south-west of Aṇahilvāḍa). Āṇāka did his best to prevent the dissolution of the Solaṅki monarchy under Bhīmadeva II, and is said to have paid for his loyalty with his life. His son Lavanaprasāda was virtually independent, though Bhīma was nominally sovereign. Vīsaladeva refused to acknowledge any overlord, and his descendants ruled over Gujarāt until Alaf Khān overthrew the mad Karṇa (Karṇadeva Ghelo) in A. D. 1304.

Ministers of the Solaṅkis	Dhavala, c. A. D. 1160.
	Arṇorāja (Āṇāka), c. A. D. 1170.
	Lavanaprasāda, c. A. D. 1200.
	Vīradvala, c. A. D. 1233.
Independent Rulers	Vīsaladeva, A. D. 1243–1261.
	Arjuṇadeva, A. D. 1262–1274.
	Sāraṅgadeva, A. D. 1274–1295.
	Karṇadeva, A. D. 1295–1304.]

BOOK II



MOHUMMEDAN GATEWAY FROM SHAH ALUM

CHAPTER I

FIRST MOHUMMEDAN PERIOD

The Mohummedan conquerors possessed themselves immediately of the capital city of Unhilpoor, of the ports of Cambay, Broach, and Surat, and of much of what remained of the crown lands of the dynasty of Sidh Râj. Large tracts of the country, however, continued to be for a length of time wholly independent, and though they were gradually rendered tributary to the Sultans of Ahmedabad, their complete subjection was never effected by those princes, nor have they, up to the present time, reverted to that natural relation to the paramount power which they bore during the sway of the dynasty of Unhilwârâ. A branch of the royal Wâghela race itself continued to hold much of the country to the west of the Sâbhermutee river, while other scions of the same house, separated by the Purmârs of Tursunghmo and the Râthors of Eedur, maintained themselves in different positions along the mountain line from Veerpoor, on the banks of the Myhee to Poseenâ, at the most northern verge of Goozerat, beyond the crag-embosomed shrine of Umbâ Bhuwânee. The Jhâlâs were firmly fixed in the plains which lie between the Lesser Runn of Kutch and the gulf of Cambay ; the Koolee branches of these clans, with frequent other tribes of pure or adulterated aboriginal descent, spread over the Choonwâl, and appeared in many remote and inaccessible lands of hill or forest ; the banner of Kâlee floated under the protection of a line of Rajpoot princes, from the hill of Powan-gurh on the east ; while on the west the descendants of Khengâr grasped with tenacity their famous fortress of Joonagurh, controlling, from within its walls, much of the peninsula over which they had long maintained the undisputed sway ; and chiefs, deriving pretensions originally from them, showed themselves scattered over the remainder, distinguished among whom were the Gohils, lords of Gogo and Peerum, and of the sea-washed province which derived from them its name of Gohilwâr.

The story of these Hindoo chieftainships is our principal concern. The Mohummedan historians, for the most part, refer to them only under the titles of infidels, insurgents, or rebels. From the accounts, however, which these Moslems themselves have left us, and which we now give in nearly their own words, it is clear that Goozerat was very far from having been conquered even by the lieutenants of Allah-ood-deen. The task had to be attempted again and again by his successors, and was, in fact, as we shall afterwards see, never fully accomplished.

Moobârik Khiljy, the son of Allah-ood-deen, after the short-lived usurpation of Mullik Kâfoor, ascended the throne of Delhi in A. D. 1315, and in the first year of his reign sent Mullik Kâmil-ood-deen to allay the disturbances which had already commenced in Goozerat, in which country, as Ferishta relates, rebels had risen up in every direction. This officer having obtained the honor of martyrdom in war with the infidels soon after his appearance in Goozerat, a second army was sent thither under the command of the celebrated Ein-ool-moolk Mooltâny, an officer of great abilities, who defeated the insurgents, cut off their chiefs, and settled the country in peace. After this, the king conferred the government of Goozerat upon Zuffur Khân, whose daughter he had taken in marriage. Zuffur Khân soon after marched his army to Unhilwârâ, which had already been the scene of renewed disturbances he reduced the rebels, confiscated their estates, and sent their moveable wealth to the king. This governor, though 'without a fault, and the chief support of the state,' fell a victim soon after to the caprice of his sovereign, being recalled, and put to death. He was succeeded by Hissâm-ood-deen, an officer of Hindoo descent and of the Purmâr blood, who had not long been established, when, in conjunction with a few nobles, he rebelled. The other commanders in Goozerat, however, rising in arms, defeated him, and sent him prisoner to Delhi. Mullik Wujeh-ood-deen Koreishy, a brave and active officer, was sent into Goozerat in the place of Hissâm-ood-deen, and succeeded in effecting the pacification of the country. On his recall, Mullik Khoosroo, a relation of Hissâm-ood-deen, and for some time the favorite of the king, was appointed to Goozerat, but his ambition leading him to aspire

to the throne of his master, he does not appear to have exercised vice-regal power in person. Moobârik Khiljy, who was the last of his race, was murdered by Mullik Khoosroo in A. D. 1321.

In the reign of Gheiâs-ood-deen Toghluk, Tâj-ool-moolk was appointed to the government of Goozerat, 'in order that 'he might bring the same into subjection,' and in that of Mohummed Toghluk, Ahmud Ayâz received the government of the province, and Mullik Mokbil was created its vizier. Some other officers, at this time, obtained estates in Goozerat, and one of these, who bore the title of Mullik-oot-Toojâr, or chief of the merchants, held the lands of Nowsâree, on the seacoast below Surat. In A. D. 1327, Toormooshreen Khân, a Mogul general, having invaded Hindoostan, was bribed to retire, by Mohummed Toghluk, at almost the price of the kingdom, and in his retreat passed through Goozerat and Sindh, both of which countries he plundered, carrying off many of the inhabitants.

Twenty years afterwards Mullik Mokbil, who, by this time, appears to have been appointed to the government of Goozerat, taking alarm at the disaffection evinced by the Umeer Joodeeda, or officers of Mogul blood, made an attempt to secure the royal treasures, with which, and a number of horses collected from the royal stables, he was on his way to Delhi, marching by way of Baroda and Dubhoee, when he was intercepted and plundered by the Umeers, and compelled to fly to Unhilwârâ. The king, upon receiving intelligence of this outbreak, prepared to march in person to Goozerat; but first permitted Ayeez, the governor of Malwa, at that officer's request, to attempt the reduction of the rebels. Ayeez entered Goozerat accordingly; but was defeated, and slain by the Umeers, and the king, informed of his disaster, no longer delayed his own advance.

Mohummed Toghluk Shah, having reached the hills of Aboogurh, sent one of his generals against the Umeers. A battle was fought in the vicinity of the village of Devee (Deesa ?), and the rebels were totally defeated. The king now proceeded by slow marches to Broach; another action was fought on the banks of the Nerbudda, which likewise terminated favorably for the royal troops—by whom the towns of Cambay

and Surat were subsequently sacked. Mohummed Toghluk proceeded to invest Devgurh, which, under the Mohummedan name of Dowlutabad, he had twice insanely attempted to substitute for Delhi, as the capital of his empire. While employed in the siege, he received intelligence that the Umeer Joodeeda of Goozerat, joined by many of the zumeendars, or Hindoo landholders, had not only taken possession of Unhilwârâ, but had put to death the imperial deputy; had imprisoned the governor; and, after having plundered Cambay, were now engaged in besieging Broach. The emperor, quitting his lines before Dowlutabad, marched to Broach, the rebels retreating before him to Cambay, at which place they made a stand, and defeated the officers sent in pursuit of them by the shah. Mohummed Toghluk, breathing nothing but revenge, hastened to Cambay; the rebels again retired before him; but, in consequence of the state of the roads, and the unfavorable weather, the king was compelled to halt his army at Ashâwul, a town situated near the present city of Ahmedabad. The rebels, meanwhile, having recruited their army at Unhilwârâ, advanced to meet the king; a further action was fought at Kuree, in which the imperial arms were victorious; the rebels fled to Sindh, and Mohummed Toghluk entered the city of Wun Râj, where he remained some time employed in the restoration of order.

The king spent the greatest part of that year in Goozerat recruiting his army, and the year following he was employed in besieging Joonagurh, and reducing Kutch. He was, however, attacked with a dangerous disorder at Goondul, in the neighbourhood of Joonagurh, which, though it proved eventually fatal, did not at the time prevent his marching with his army to the banks of the Indus, where he chastised the Soomuree Prince of Sindh, who had sheltered the fugitive Umeers.

In the reign of Feroze Toghluk, that sovereign, after his conquest of Nuggurkot, had undertaken operations in Sindh which the rains compelled him to suspend. He moved his army, therefore, into Goozerat, where he remained until the season allowed of his returning to Sindh. Some years afterwards (A. D. 1376), the revenue of Goozerat being greatly deficient, the king was induced to listen to the proposals of an

officer named Shums-ood-deen Dumghâny, who offered to give a large sum above the usual payment in case of his being appointed to the government. The king, after having enquired of the existing viceroy whether he would offer the same terms, and received a refusal, consented to the appointment of Shums-ood-deen, who accordingly repaired to the seat of his government; but soon after, being unable to fulfil his engagements, went into rebellion. The people, whom he had greatly oppressed, seizing this opportunity of revenge, joined the foreign Umeers of the province, and Shums-ood-deen was, by their united forces, defeated and slain. Furhut-ool-Moolk held the government from this time till A. D. 1387; and when, in that year, another officer was nominated to replace him, rose in rebellion, and, being joined by the foreign officers, defeated and slew his proposed successor. He was confirmed in the office of Governor of Goozerat by Gheiás-ood-deen Toghluk, and retained it until A. D. 1390, when he again rebelled, with the view of establishing his independence. In furtherance of his object, Furhut-ool-Moolk strove to conciliate the Hindoos by encouraging their religion. His conduct, however, alarmed the orthodox Mohummedans, who addressed petitions to the throne, pointing out both the political views of their governor, and the danger to which he was exposing the faith of Islam. A nobleman of the court, himself of the Hindoo blood of the Tâk, or Takshac, race, was then appointed viceroy of Goozerat, under the title of Moozuffer Khân;[1] and, to add to his dignity, was presented with the white canopy and scarlet pavilion, exclusively used by kings. Moozuffer Khân, having entered Goozerat, and advanced into the vicinity of the capital, was met at Sidhpoor by his rival with an army composed chiefly of Hindoos. An engagement ensued, in which Furhut-ool-Moolk was defeated and slain. Moozuffer Khân now, in the name of his imperial master, assumed the reins of government at Unhilwârâ (A. D. 1391).

[1] [For 'Moozuffur' read Zafar. He was the son of Wajīh-ul-Mulk of the Tānk tribe of Rājputs, whose original name was Sahāran. He was said to have been converted by the Emperor Fīrūz Tughlak. *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. i, part 1, p. 232.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

EARLY MUHAMMADAN GOVERNORS OF GUJARĀT

Governors.	*Emperors of Delhi.*
Ulugh Khān, 1297–1317.	Alā-ud-dīn Khilji, 1295–1315.
Āīn-ul-Mulk, 1318.	
Tāj-ul-Mulk, 1320.	Muhammad Tughlak I, 1325–1351.
Zafar Khān, 1371.	Firuz Tughlak 1351–1388.
Farhat-ul-Mulk, 1376–91.	
ZAFAR KHĀN, 1391–1403.	Muhammad Tughlak II, 1391–1393.
Crowned as MUZAFFAR SHĀH, Sultān of Gujarāt, and reigned 1407–19.	

CHAPTER II

THE WÂGHELAS—LOONÂWARÂ—THE SHODÂ PURMÂRS—THE KÂTEES—THE JHÂLÂS—EEDUR—THE GOHILS OF PEERUM

THOUGH the stem of the Solunkhees was uprooted, it was not before many of its branches, 'like those of their own 'indigenous burr-tree,' had fixed themselves in the soil. Beyond the limits of Goozerat, one branch of the Wâghela tribe is said to have given its name to the province of Wâghelkhund, or Bâghelkhund, in Gondwânâ; and the Thâkor of Roopnugger, a chieftain of Mewar, whose stronghold commands one of the passes into that country, and whose family has been famed in the annals of border feuds, still lays claim to Solunkhee blood, and boasts his possession of the war-shell of the great Sidh Râj as an ancestral heir-loom.

As regards Goozerat, the Wâghelas, it appears, at first maintained themselves in the districts to the west of the Sâbhermutee, including 'the Bhâl,' [1] and held also the country since called Jhâlâwâr, where we find one of their chiefs seated at Wudwân, with a powerful vassal at Syelâ.[2] From this latter part of their possessions, however, they not long subsequently retired before the Jhâlâs and others; and in the reign of Ahmed Shah we shall find them seated at Kulol and Sânund, in the districts most exposed to the Mohummedan arms.

Another branch of the Solunkhees, under Veer Bhudrâjee, established themselves at Veerpoor, on the Myhee, where they settled at the hill of Owtul Mâtâ, and acquired the distin-

[1] ['A branch of the Vâghelas continued to hold much of the country to the west of the Sâbarmati, while other branches maintained their independence in the rugged land beyond Amba Bhavâni, between Virpur on the Mahi and Posina at the northernmost verge of Gujarât.' *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. i, part 1, p. 206.]

[2] [Eighteen miles SW. of Wadhwân.]

guishing name of Veerpoora Solunkhees. We have no further information in regard to this branch than the bardic statement that in A. D. 1434 they settled at Loonâwârâ, which town they founded by the blessing of Shree Looneshwur Muhâ Dev. Other supposed offshoots of the Solunkhee tribe are to be found among the Koolee chieftains of the Choonwâl, of whom hereafter.

The Shodâ [1] tribe, a powerful branch of the Purmâr race, ruled part of Sindh from remote antiquity, and to a very late period were lords of Oomur Kot and Oomurâ-Soomurâ, in which division was Arore, the ancient capital of Sindh.[2] The isolated and now dependent chieftainship of Dhât in the Indian desert, of which Oomur Kot is the capital, separates the Bhâtees from the Jhârejas, and is still held by a prince of Purmâr race and Shodâ tribe.[3] Another branch of the Shodâ Purmârs entered Goozerat at the time of which we are now treating. A branch of the Wâghelas, it is said, then held Wudwân, in after times the property of the Jhâlâs. Wudlâ, the Wâghela Raja of Wudwân, assigned Syelâ and other villages as a putto, or feudal grant, to the Chubâd Rajpoots, of whom the following story is related by the bards :—

A famine having occurred at Parkur, two thousand Shodâ Purmârs with their wives and children, under the leading of two chiefs named Moojo and Lugdheer, came to the Punchâl country, where they formed a collection of huts at a place called Ghâgureeo, a few miles to the east of Moolee. The Chubâd chief of Syelâ, fancying that the Shodâs were wealthy and unprotected, sought occasion for plundering them. He arranged a sporting excursion, and pretending that a partridge which he had wounded had taken shelter among their huts, demanded that it should be given up. Such a demand it was altogether inconsistent with Rajpoot honor to accede to ; a contest, therefore, was the result, and many, both of the

[1] [A branch of the Parmāra Rājputs, perhaps the Sogdoi or Sodrae of Alexander's historians. The main part of this clan ruled at 'Umarkoṭ till A. D. 1750, but a branch entered Gujarāt in the 14th century A. C.]

[2] ['Oomur Kot' or 'Umarkoṭ, corruptly called Amercote, etc., was the birthplace of Akbar. It is now, since 1843, included in the British District of Thar and Pārkar, Sind.]

[3] Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. i, pp. 21, 111, 372 ; ii, 941 ; iii, 1283.

Chubâds and Shodâs, were slain. 'A wild partridge came to 'the chief's door. To oppose the Chubâd they mounted and 'stood in arms at the gate. "O Moojo! this is my partridge," 'the enemy demanded; but, fired with pride, the Purmâr 'lord refused to surrender it. In the morning, with the 'Chubâd the Shodâs fought; five hundred Chubâds, seven 'score Shodâs fell. Moojo, risking his life for the sake of a 'bird, won fame. The north star may move, Meroo fall, 'Girnâr revolve, but the Purmâr cannot turn his back to 'the foe. His dwelling Kundol, Choteelâ his fortress, his 'lands at Moolee—give the Purmâr so much, he seeks no 'more.' The chief of Syelâ, who had himself fallen, left a sister married to the Wâghela of Wudwân. She pressed her husband to take revenge from those who had killed her brother; but Wudlâ had given his word of honor (kol) to the chief of the Shodâs, and was prevented, therefore, from openly proceeding against him. At this time two Bheel chieftains, named Aho and Phuto, were very powerful in Goozerat, and from their impregnable strongholds, in the ravines of the Sâbhermutee river, used to ravage the country of the Wâghelas. The Wudwân Raja, thinking to rid himself of the Shodâs, demanded that they should attack these Bheel fortresses. The Shodâs entered Aho Bheel's fort by stratagem, and put him to death, with many of his followers. They next proceeded against Phuto, and slew him also. In recompense for these exploits, the Wâghela of Wudwân conferred upon the Shodâs four 'Choveeses' or districts of four and twenty villages each, those, namely, of Moolee, Thân, Choteelâ, and Choburee.

The Kâtees[1] were vassals of the Soomuree King of Sindh, and lived in Pâwur-land. Once on a time a female dancer ridiculed the king as she performed before him, upon which she was condemned to banishment from his territories. The

[1] [The Kāthis were a nomad tribe, probably from central Asia. Arrian mentions a nation with a similar name which Alexander encountered on the Hydraotes. They seem to have been gradually forced southwards and to have arrived in Kāthiāwār about A. D. 1000. Ra Khengāra of Junāgarh, A. D. 1044–1067, had Kāthi soldiers in his army. They are divided into two clans, Ararthias and Shākhāyates, who intermarry. See H. Wilberforce Bell, *The History of Kāthiāwād from the Earliest Times* (Heinemann, London, 1915).]

Kâtee chiefs, however, called the actress to their quarters, and amused themselves by causing her to sing the song which had offended the king. The Sindh chief being informed of this behaviour, issued sentence of expulsion against the Kâtees also. At this time a raja of the Wâlo race ruled at Dhânk, near Dhorâjee, in Soreth. The Kâtee chiefs, flying from Sindh, took refuge in his dominions, and became his followers. One of the Kâtees, named Umuro Putgur, had a very beautiful daughter named Umurâ Bâee, whom the Wâlo fell in love with and demanded of her father in marriage. Umuro agreed to the celebration of the marriage, on condition that the Wâlo should eat at the same table with him. Hereupon the brothers of the Chief of Dhânk conspired against him as one who had lost caste, and drove him from his throne. He took refuge with the Kâtees, who accepted him as their leader, and laid plans, under his direction, for seizing territory from the Bhoomeeas—the men of the land. The Wâlo retained from his forefathers the worship of the sun, which religion was adopted from him by the Kâtees. Once when the Wâlo lay asleep, dreaming of his lost grâs or landed inheritance, Sooruj appeared to him and said, 'Go forth to fight, trusting in me. 'I will aid you, and give you victory, and you shall erect a 'temple for my worship.' With the aid of Shree Sooruj, the Wâlo and his Kâtee followers conquered many villages, and amongst others, seized Thân and Choteelâ from the Shodâs. At Thân, which they made their capital, they erected a temple to the sun, whose deity is worshipped there to this day. They attempted also to conquer the Moolee Chovees under the leading of Râgo Châwuro, one of the Kâtee chieftains, but the Shodâ Purmâr, Râjo Sutmâl, engaged them and slew Râgo.

'Collecting his army, he caused the Choodâsumâ and the 'Gohil to tremble—a warrior that could not be tamed, he 'galloped his horse afar. Like a mighty Dev, valiant was 'the son of Sutmâl. Had you not heard of this Râjojee, 'O Râgo?

'Sometimes only, a man meets with a man. In the field, O 'Châwuro! you are a fighter, it is true; but the Purmâr, too, 'is a warrior of might. Unless pierced by the point of the

'spear, how should he resign his lands! What did he not 'endure for a partridge only of old! Honor be to the race of 'Shodâ, the ever proud!'

The Wâlo chief had, by his Kâtee bride, three sons, Khoomân, Khâchur, and Horsur-Wâlâ, who shared his acquired territories between them. They took up their residences, respectively, at Choteelâ, Meetheeâloo, and Jetpoor; and were the founders of the three Kâtee tribes called after their names. The Kâtees were originally divided into eight branches; but these now assumed the common name of Ewurteeâs, or foreigners, distinguishing them from the Ghurderâs (seniors), or Wâlâ-Kâtees, the descendants of the sons of the outcaste Chief of Dhânk and his wife Umurâ Bâee.

Next to the Wâghelas in nearness of relationship to the dynasty of Unhilwârâ, and like them in having acquired large territorial possessions at its fall, are the Jhâlâs. We first hear of them under the name of Mukwânas, at Keruntee-gurh, or Kero Kot;[1] at which place Veheeâs ruled in succession to numerous ancestors, when the Wâghelas were the sovereigns of Goozerat.

'When Veheeâs,' says the bard, 'took to his bed, at 'Keruntee-gurh, his life would not pass from his body. 'Kesur, his son, said to him, "Father! how is it that your 'soul does not obtain liberation?" Veheeâs answered— '"There is a city named Sâmeiyoo, in which Humeer Soomero, 'my enemy, rules. If you will promise to carry off a hun-'dred and twenty-five horses, bred in his stable, and present 'them to the bards on the thirteenth day after my death, I 'shall be released." The brothers and brothers' sons of

[1] Kero Kot is, we are informed, a small village, still so called, near Butchow, in Kutch, where there are traces of an old city, extending as widely as those at Wulleh. The name does not appear in the maps unless the place indicated be 'Kunt Kot,' mentioned as the refuge of Mool Râj, of Unhilwârâ, during the invasion of the King of Sâmbhur. *Vide* p. 52. [The Jhālas, like other Rājput tribes, migrated to Gujarāt from the north. Being driven out of Keranti near Nagar Pārkar in Sind, they took service under Karan Ghelo, the last of the Vāghelas, about A. D. 1290, and received much land as their reward. The Rāja of Dhrāngadra is the present head of the Jhāla clan, to which the houses of Vānkāner, Wadhwān, Limḍi, and others belong.]

'Veheeâs stood around him, but no one of them made any 'answer. Then Kesur, although he was a minor, stepped 'forward, and, pouring water into his father's hand, promised 'that he would perform his command. Thereupon Veheeâs 'passed to Dev-Lok.'

When the thirteenth day came round, Kesur put off his mourning, and invited his kinsmen to accompany him to Sâmeiyoo. Some one muttered—'No one will go to throw 'away his life with you.' Kesur heeded them not; he trusted in his own strength. His arms reached below his knees *; he wielded a spear that was fifty pounds in weight; he was armed with bow and arrow; he rode on a horse that resembled the eagle upon which Vishnoo is borne. He went to Sâmeiyoo, and fulfilled his promise by bringing off the horses thence, and presenting them to the bards.

Kesur sent for his astrologer, and enquired how many days were allotted to him to live. The wise man, having consulted his horoscope, predicted his early death; Kesur said, 'No 'one will know of it if I die seated in the corner of the house; 'my name will be famous if I die in fight.' Thus considering, he went again to Sâmeiyoo, and finding seven hundred camels of Humeer's grazing beside the river Menee, he carried them off, and presented them to bards at Keruntee-gurh. Still no army of Humeer's set out from Sâmeiyoo. Kesur went, therefore, upon a third foray. It was the Dussera festival; the wife and daughter of Humeer, seated in a chariot, repaired to a garden to take their pleasure. From thence Kesur carried them off; a hundred and twenty-five Soomuree ladies he carried off with them. Humeer now sent his minister to Keruntee-gurh, who, when he arrived, stated that the ladies were the wives and sisters of Humeer, and that it became Kesur to send them back with presents, in the fashion of married ladies returning from their parents' house. Kesur laughed, and said the property should not be given up; and that the ladies were his own wives. The minister returned with this answer to Sâmeiyoo.

Kesur sent for his kinsmen, as many of them as were at Keruntee, and distributed to them a Soomuree lady a-piece. He retained four for himself—in addition to his other numerous

wives. Ten or twelve years passed away, and the feud still continued. Eighteen sons were born in this time to Kesur and his brothers, whose mothers were the Soomuree ladies. At length Humeer sent to say, 'I would come to fight with 'you, but Keruntee is a salt country; what subsistence could 'my army find there?' Kesur sent answer, 'I will sow a 'thousand acres with green wheat for your army.' Then Humeer came to Keruntee-gurh, and in the battles that ensued, many Rajpoots lost their lives. Among the rest Kesur fell with his sons, of whom only Hurpâl survived. His brothers and nephews also fell, and Keruntee being destroyed, the Soomuree ladies burned themselves with their husbands.

Hurpâl, the son of Kesur, took refuge at Unhilwârâ Puttun, where Ghelaro Kurun, the Wâghela, ruled. The spear of Hurpâl was as heavy as his father's, and he and Kurun were sister's sons, therefore he was well received at Puttun. Kurun was at this time suffering much annoyance from a Bhoot, named Bâburo, who had taken to himself the favorite Rânee, Phoolâ Devee, of Jânjmer Tulâjâ. Hurpâl attacked the Bhoot, and seizing him by his lock of hair, which rendered him powerless, forced him to swear that he would never again cause annoyance at Puttun. He demanded a further promise from Bâburo, which was, that he should attend him whenever he was in difficulty and required his aid. The Bhoot assented. Hurpâl had afterwards a similar contest with a Shuktee Devee, whom he subdued, and compelled to become his wife.

One morning, Kurun being seated in his court, sent for Hurpâl, the Mukwâno, who came and stood before him; Kurun invited him to ask a boon in reward for his services; he asked for as many villages as he could bind garlands upon in one night. Kurun made him a written grant to that effect. When Hurpâl returned home, the Shuktee asked what present Kurun had made him, and, when she was informed, took upon herself the task of binding the garlands. Hurpâl also called in the assistance of Bâburo, the Bhoot, who attended him with his followers, a lakh and a quarter in number. They set out at nine in the evening, and fixed the first garland at Pâtree, then at its six hundred dependent villages. At four in the morning they had returned to Puttun, having bound garlands

upon the gates of two thousand villages. Next morning the king having mounted a minister upon a dromedary, sent him out to make enquiry as to the number of villages which had become the property of the Mukwâno. The list contained two thousand names, and Kurun having read it, confirmed his previous grant.[1]

When Kurun went into his female apartments, at noon, the Rânee saw that something had occurred to cause him grief.

[1] The founder of a new village, after ascertaining from the astrologers the fortunate hour, erects two posts, between which he suspends a garland of leaves. This represents a Keerttee Stumbh. At the same time he sets up a water vessel, which he worships as an emblem of his family goddess. He then worships Hunoomân, and concludes by giving a feast.

With the story in the text compare the following :—

'THE TICHBORNE DOLE.—The family of Tichborne date their possession of the present patrimony, the manor of Tichborne, so far back as 200 years before the Conquest. When the Lady Mabella, worn out with age and infirmity, was lying on her deathbed, she besought her loving husband, as her last request, that he would grant her the means of leaving behind her a charitable bequest, in a dole of bread to be distributed to all who should apply for it annually on the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Sir Roger, her husband, readily acceded to her request, by promising the produce of as much land as she could go over, in the vicinity of the park, while a certain brand or billet was burning, supposing that, from her long infirmity (for she had been bedridden for some years), she would be able to go round a small portion only of his property. The venerable dame, however, ordered her attendants to convey her to the corner of the park, where, being deposited on the ground, she seemed to receive a renovation of strength, and, to the surprise of her anxious and admiring lord, who began to wonder where her pilgrimage might end, she crawled round several rich and goodly acres. The field which was the scene of the Lady Mabella's extraordinary feat retains the name of "Crawls" to this day. It is situated near the entrance of the park, and contains an area of 23 acres. Her task being completed, she was reconveyed to her chamber, and summoning her family to her bedside predicted its prosperity while the annual dole existed, and left her malediction on any of her descendants who should be so mean or covetous as to discontinue or divert it, prophesying that when such should happen the old house would fall, and the family name would become extinct from the failure of heirs male, and that this would be foretold by a generation of seven sons being followed immediately after by a generation of seven daughters and no son. The custom thus founded in the reign of Henry II. continued to be observed for centuries ; and the 25th of March became the annual festive day of the family. It was not until the middle of the last century that the custom was abused ; when, under the pretence of attending

She pressed him to tell her why he was sad, and was informed that Hurpâl had taken two thousand villages. The Rânee had adopted Hurpâl as her bracelet-bound * brother, so she caused her chariot to be yoked, and set off to demand of him a bodice. Hurpâl met her at the gate of his mansion, and said, 'Sister! for what purpose are you come?' She said she had come for a bodice, and he gave up to her the five hundred villages constituting the district called the Bhâl.

Bâburo Bhoot, in assenting to Hurpâl's demand that he should serve him when required, had added the following condition—'As soon as the tasks you set me are performed, I 'shall devour you.' Hurpâl was, therefore, now compelled to devise means for ridding himself of Bâburo—the Bhoot declaring his intention of exacting the penalty that had been provided. At length Hurpâl ordered Bâburo to bring a tall pole. The Bhoot brought one immediately. Hurpâl said, 'Fix it in the ground and go on climbing up and down it; 'when that task is completed you may devour me.' Thus was Hurpâl relieved of his cause for anxiety.[1]

The race of Hurpâl and the Shuktee spread like the branches of a creeper of paradise; Shedo, Mângoo, and Shekuro were their sons; and they had a daughter, Bâee Oomâ Devee. One day the Shuktee's sons were playing in the court-yard of the palace, when an elephant, belonging to the king, got loose;

Tichborne Dole, vagabonds, gypsies, and idlers of every description assembled from all quarters, pilfering throughout the neighbourhood; and, at last, the gentry and magistrates complaining, it was discontinued in 1796. Singularly enough, the baronet of the day had seven sons; and when he was succeeded by the eldest, there appeared a generation of seven daughters, and the apparent fulfilment of the prophesy was completed by the change of the name of the late baronet to Doughty, under the will of his kinswoman.'—*Winchester Observer.*

[1] Compare the following:—Michael Scott was, once upon a time, much embarrassed by a spirit, for whom he was under the necessity of finding constant employment. He commanded him to build a *cauld*, or dam-head, across the Tweed at Kelso; it was accomplished in one night, and still does honor to the infernal architect. Michael next ordered that Eildon-hill, which was then an uniform cone, should be divided into three. Another night was sufficient to part its summit into the three picturesque peaks which it now bears. At length the enchanter conquered this indefatigable demon by employing him in the hopeless and endless task of making ropes out of sea-sand.—*Appendix to the Lay of the Last Minstrel.*

she stretched forth her hand and laid hold of them (jhâlâ), whence they derived the name Jhâlâ.

'I have heard of you as a warrior who conquered all the 'demons; I have heard of you as a warrior who had a 'Shuktee for a Rânee; I have heard of you as a warrior who 'took possession of two thousand villages. Hurpâl! great, 'with a hand like Yuma's, I behold your power daily increasing. 'There is no warrior upon earth, O! son of Kesur, equal to you.

'In Pâtree the Mukwâno built many a palace. The Rânee 'sat at the window; no one knew that she was a Shuktee. 'The king's elephant broke loose; she saw, from a distance, 'the princes playing. Shedo, Mângoo, and Shekuro, extend-'ing her hand, she laid hold upon; she gave them the title 'of Jhâlâ.'

The fortress of Eedur [1] is situated on the south-western face of the range of hills which connects the chains of Vindhya and Ârâwullee. It consists of a piece of table-land, elevated to a considerable height above the plains, and surrounded with eminences, the gaps intervening between which are artificially filled in, and strengthened by ramparts. The town of Eedur, which is surrounded by a handsome stone wall, with circular bastions, nestles at the foot of the hill; it is hardly perceptible from even a very short distance, being screened by small rocky hillocks, from which frown outworks, mounted with cannon, and manned respectively by the Jetâwuts, the Koompâwuts, the Chohâns, or other warlike vassals of the sovereign. From the residence of the Râthor princes, situated at the back of the town, beside a reservoir of water, a steep and easily defensible pathway conducts through more than one gateway and fortified work to the plateau of the fortress. The two most conspicuous peaks of the hill above are crowned by edifices; that on the left, a Hindoo temple, which tradition knows as the guard-room of

[1] [Idar is the premier state in Mahi Kāntha. It is renowned in history as the seat of one of the most gallant and heroic of the Rājput clans. From the day when, after its first rulers had fallen to a man about their lord on the fatal field of Thanesar, it became the property of the Rāthoḍs from Mārwār, to the coming of the Marāthās in the eighteenth century, it was taken and retaken nine times over. The Idar rāja was a thorn in the side of the Sultans of Gujarāt until Ahmad Shāh built Āhmadnagar fort, 18 miles away, to keep a watch over him, in 1427.]

Runmul, one of the old Rows of Eedur ; that on the right, a small dome-covered structure, called 'the Palace of the mourning Queen.' The level plain in front of the town of Eedur was, until lately, covered by a thick and impenetrable forest of stunted trees, which completed the defences of the fortress, and assisted in giving to it that impregnable character which it bore of old, and which is attested by the proverbial saying used throughout Goozerat, to signify the successful conclusion of a hopeless undertaking,—

I have captured Eedur-gurh.

Eedur is first known in tradition as Il-doorg, the residence, in the Dwâpur Yoog, or third age, of Ailwun, the Râkshus, and his brother, Wâtâpee. These demons harassed the surrounding country, which the indulgence of their cannibal propensities rendered desolate ; they were at last destroyed by Ugust Reeshee. In the Kul Yoog, or iron age, when Yoodishteer was fresh in men's recollection, and Vikrum had not yet arisen to free the world from the load of debt, Venee Wuch Râj ruled in Eedur. He was the possessor of a magical figure of gold, which furnished him with resources for constructing the fortress on the hill and its various reservoirs. The Queen of Venee Wuch Râj was a Nâgpootree, the daughter of one of the snake kings of Pâtâl, or the infernal regions. They reigned there happily for many years, and then, as the story goes, suddenly disappeared. 'Once on a time the Raja and the Rânee were 'seated together in an oriel window of their palace in Eedur-'gurh, when the corpse of a man who had died in the city was 'carried past, followed by a mourning train. The Rânee en-'quired the meaning of this melancholy pageant, and was 'informed by her husband that the mourners lamented one who 'was dead. "Let us not remain in a place like this, where 'men die," said the Rânee. Wuch Râj and his queen then 'went to the hill of Târun Mother, and entering a fissure in 'the rock, close by the spot where the goddess is now wor-'shipped, they descended to Pâtâl. Thereafter the land lay 'desolate for many years.'

When Wullubheenugger fell, Pooshpâwutee, one of the queens of Sheelâditya, was at the shrine of Umbâ Bhuwânee

at Ârâsoor,* which she had visited for the purpose of laying upon the altar of the goddess a votive offering in acknowledgment of her expectation of offspring. She was on her return, when the intelligence arrived which blasted all her future hopes, by depriving her of her lord, and robbing him, whom the goddess had promised to her prayers, of his ancestral crown. She took refuge in a cave in the mountains, where she was delivered of a son, thence called 'Goha,' or cave-born. The queen confided the infant to a Brahminee, and enjoined her to educate him as one of her own caste, but to marry him to the daughter of a Rajpoot. She then mounted the funeral pile to follow her lord. At this period Eedur was in the hands of the Bheels. The young Goha, soon abandoning his Brahmin mother, frequented the forests in their company, and by his daring character rendered himself their favorite. The Bheels, in sport, having determined to elect a king, the choice fell upon Goha, and one of the 'children of 'the forest' cutting his finger, applied the blood as the teeluk of sovereignty to his forehead. Thus Goha, the son of Sheelâditya, became lord of the forests and mountains of Eedur. His descendants are said to have dwelt in these regions for several generations. The Bheels, at length, tired of a foreign rule, assailed Nâgâditya, the eighth prince of the line of Gohâ, and deprived him of his life, but his infant son, Bâppâ, then only three years old, was saved to become the founder of the dynasty of Mewar.[1]

After these events, some Pureehâr Rajpoots came from Mundowur † in Marwar, and binding the garland upon its gates, refounded Eedur, where they ruled for several generations, In the time of Pureehâr Umur Singh, the Raja of Kanouj, Jeychund Dulé Pângulo, was performing sacrifice on account of the marriage of his daughter, Sunyogeetâ. He sent letters of invitation to all rajas. Eedur was then subject to Cheetor, and Sumurshee Râwul having been invited by his brother-in-law, Prutheerâj, to accompany him to the marriage, summoned his vassal, Umur Singh, to attend him. The Pureehâr chieftain, with his son and a body of five thousand horse, went to Cheetor, and soon after they were cut to pieces in the

[1] *Vide* Tod's *Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, i, p. 259.

great battle in which Prutheerâj was defeated by the Mohummedans. When the tale was told at Eedur, many of the Rânees became Sutees, casting themselves from a precipitous cliff, to the north of Eedur, which still bears the name of 'the 'Rânees' leap,' or 'the hill of murders.'

Umur Singh had left Eedur in the hands of a servant of his, named Hâthee Sord, a Koolee, in whom he had great confidence. Hâthee retained possession of the country until his death, and was succeeded by his son, Sâmulyo Sord, in whose time the Râthors first appeared in Eedur.

After the death of Jeychund Dulé Pângulo, Seeyojee Râthor, who is reputed to have been his son, left Kanouj, and established himself in the sandy deserts of Marwar. He had three sons, of whom the elder, Âstânjee, succeeded him; Sonungjee and Ujjee, the two younger sons, 'considered that 'they had better go to some foreign country for their subsist- 'ence.' They repaired to the court of Unhilwârâ, whose sovereign, probably Bheem Dev II., was their mother's brother. The Solunkhee prince assigned to them the fief of Sâmeturâ, in the district of Kuree. Ujjee Râthor soon after espoused the daughter of a Chowra chieftain, whose estate lay near Dwârkâ. This connection gave him an acquaintance with that part of the country, which led him to seek an establishment therein; soon afterwards, therefore, he slew Bhoj Râj Chowra, and possessed himself of Dwârkâ and of the province of Okâmundul. Ujjee left two sons, Wâgâjee and Wâdheljee, whose descendants are still numerous in that country under the names of Wâjâs and Wâdhels.*

Sâmulyo Sord was, meanwhile, exciting the discontent of his subjects at Eedur by his tyrannical conduct. The Nâgur Brahmins were at that time very numerous in the Sord's dominions, and the leading man of the caste was also the principal adviser of the sovereign. The Brahmin had a very beautiful daughter, whom the raja, happening one day to see, became enamoured of, and demanded in marriage. The minister knew that if he ventured upon a direct refusal, Sâmulyo would take his daughter away by force; he therefore counterfeited acquiescence, and merely begged for half-a-year's delay, in order that he might make suitable preparations for

the nuptials. In the interval he hoped to discover some powerful chieftain whom he might call in to his aid. The Brahmin, with this view, paid a visit at Sâmeturâ, at the court of Prince Sonungjee, to whom he introduced himself, asking him if he had the courage to take Eedur, with its nine lakhs of revenue. Sonungjee assented. The minister, returning home, gave out that he was making preparations for the marriage, and was, with the view to its celebration, assembling his relations. By twos and threes, a hundred carriages, supposed to contain Brahmin ladies, conveyed to the minister's mansion the Marwaree warriors and their leader. A number of Koonbees were employed to collect goats and supplies of liquor. The minister at length announced that his preparations were complete, and sent to bid Sâmulyo Sord and his relations to the feast. The bridegroom's party arrived, was duly welcomed, and freely supplied with intoxicating liquors and drugs. The minister then ordered his servants to serve the second course. This was the signal which had been agreed upon. The Rajpoots, therefore, rushed forward, and surrounded the room in which the revelling was held. The doors were then locked, that no one might be allowed to escape, but a party of Koolees from without forced them open, and brought out Sâmulyo Sord. The chieftain strove to cut his way through his enemies, and regain the fortress, but a number of his followers were slain on the steep ascent, and Sâmulyo himself fell within a short distance of the gate of Eedurgurh. When Row Sonungjee came up to the spot where the Sord chieftain lay dying, Sâmulyo raising himself for the last time, made the royal teeluk on the victorious Râthor's forehead with his own blood, and begged him, with his dying breath, to appoint, for the preservation of his name, that each Râthor Row, on mounting the royal cushion of Eedur, should be marked with the teeluk by a Sord, who should draw blood for the purpose from his own right hand, and say, 'May the kingdom of Sâmulyo Sord flourish!' Row Sonungjee assenting, Sâmulyo soon breathed his last.

The wife of Sâmulyo, who was pregnant, fled, and took refuge in a cave at the foot of the hill sacred to Muhâ Dev Khokurnâth. She was there sheltered by the recluse who

served the temple, and gave birth to a son, from whom descend the Koolees, of Surwân, on the Mewar frontier, and of Khokur, in Puttunwârâ.

The spots on the ascent to Eedurgurh, which are supposed to have been stained with the blood of Sâmulyo and his slaughtered followers, are still marked by the Hindoos with vermilion on 'the dark fourteenth,'* and other days on which Hunoomân is worshipped; and when the descendant of Row Sonungjee assumes the cushion of his ancestors in their last retreat at Pol, a Koolee of Surwân is, to the present day, employed to mark, with blood upon his forehead, the royal teeluk which asserts his yet unsurrendered title to the domains of Sâmulyo.

'The Gohils,'[1] says Colonel Tod, 'claim, with some pre-'tension, to be of the race of the sun.' The accounts to which we have had access, however, make them of the race of Chundra, or the moon, descending through Shâleewâhun, the conqueror of Vikrâmâditya. Their first residence was Joona Khergurh, on the banks of the Loony river, in Marwar, ten miles west of Balotra. They took it from one of the aboriginal Bheel chiefs, named Kherwo, and had been in possession of it for twenty generations, when they were expelled by the Râthors. Their long possession of this seat in the 'land of death,' is asserted by the title of 'Muroo,' which their chieftain still assumes.

It was under the guidance of Sejuk, the son of Jânjurshee, that the Gohils retired from Marwar. The cause of their departure was a feud excited between them and their neighbours, the Dâbhees, by the Râthor clan, under Âstânjee, the son of Seeyojee II., then making their first settlement in the land of Muroo. 'The Dâbhees,' says the bard, 'behaved treacherously to 'the Gohils—treacherously did they seek to destroy Sejuk. 'To a feast they invited the Muroo, intending to put him to 'death. Clever was the Dâbhee's daughter; she was the

[1] [The Gohils were cadets of the Valabhi house, being descended, according to the legend, from Goha, so named because he was born in a *cave*, to which his mother, the widow of Śilāditya VII, had fled when the city was sacked (p. 292). The first historic mention of them is an inscription at their capital of Māngrob, which talks of Sāhji Gohil, son of Sahār and father of Somrāj, who flourished in Samvat 1202 (A. D. 1146).]

'Queen of Sejuk. The virtuous wife became aware of the 'intentions of her kindred ; yoking her chariot she went forth; 'she came to Sejuk's house, and related to him the whole 'matter. When Muroo set forth, he called his good warriors, 'and acquainted them with the design ; they armed themselves, 'and attended him. To murder Sejuk the chieftains assembled; 'he knew their treachery, and came to meet them. The 'warriors struck at each other. Sejuk had been invited to a 'feast. Strange it was that they should slay each other. 'In the hall the dishes remained filled ; in the hall the sword 'moved ; the chieftains caused wounds in each other's bodies, 'gaping like the opened windows of great mansions. Jânjur-'shee's son, brandishing his dagger, struck it into the breast 'of Mân. Fighting with the Dâbhees, as if hunting game, 'the Gohil finished his sport, and went home joyfully to Kher. 'Mân he sent to the house of Yuma.' The Râthors, who had set the parties at enmity, finding them both weakened by the losses which their feud had occasioned, now stept in, and seized the booty for themselves, expelling the belligerent clans from the land of Muroo. Hence the proverb,—

Dâbhees left, and Gohils right.

Sejukjee assembled his clan ; and, taking with him his minister, Shâ Rajpâl Umeepâl, and his family priest, Gungârâm Wullubhrâm, of which latter the descendants still exist at Seehore, set forth to seek his fortune 'in foreign lands.' The image of his god, Morleedhur, and the trident of his family Khetrapâl (or Lar), were placed upon a chariot which preceded the line of march ; for Morleedhur had appeared to Sejukjee in a dream, and had informed him that he should halt, and found a city upon the spot where the chariot should break down. When the train arrived in the Punchâl country, the wheel came off the god's car. Sejukjee halted upon the spot, which is that where the village of Sâpur stands, and proceeded with Shâ Râjpâl to pay obeisance to the Râ of Joonagurh. The Râ Kuwât and Koonwur Khengâr received them, and enquired what had driven them forth from their own country. Sejukjee answered that the Râthors had given the Dâbhees bad counsel, and had excited them against him, and that eventually

Âstânjee had expelled the Dâbhees also, and had taken Khergurh for himself. Râ Kuwât took Sejukjee into his service, and gave him a grant of Sâpur and eleven other villages, with a commission to protect that part of the country 'against the Kânt 'Bheels.' At that time the Kâtees had not yet come out of Pâwur land, and Dhândulpoor, near Choteelâ, was the frontier town between the Wâghelas and the Râs of Joonagurh.

Sejukjee remained several days at Joonagurh, and, while he was there the Koonwur Khengâr, who was thirteen years old, went out on a hunting expedition. He came at length to the neighbourhood of Sâpur, and, while following his sport, started a hare, which, when pursued, fled, and took refuge in the Gohil's encampment. Khengâr demanded that it should be given up to him ; but Sejuk's brother and nephews declined, saying, that no Rajpoot could give up what had taken refuge under his protection. A contest ensued ; several of the Koonwur's followers were slain, and he was himself made prisoner. One of the Koonwur's party escaping hastened to Joonagurh, and informed Râ Kuwât of what had happened, adding, that he did not know whether Khengâr was alive, or whether he had been slain. Sejukjee was sitting in the court at this moment ; he became very sorrowful, and considered that he would not now be able to retain the grant of the villages. He rose, and making obeisance, placed the putta in the Râ's lap. Kuwât asked why he did so. Sejuk answered, 'My followers have slain your 'only Koonwur ; how can I remain in your territory ?' The Râ returned the grant to Sejukjee, bidding him be of good courage. Sejuk hastened to Sâpur, and finding that the Koonwur was alive and well, he made submission to him, and, bringing his daughter, presented her to him to be his wife. The princess, whose name was Wâlum Koonwurbâ, was sent with presents for her bridegroom, and a suitable wardrobe for herself, to Joonagurh ; and Sejukjee, with the Ra's permission, founded a new town near Sâpur, and called it Sejukpoor.*

At this time Sejukjee's brothers also were settled at different villages that were assigned to them. Hunoojee obtained Bugud ; Mân Singh, Tâtum, near Botâd ; Doodojee, Toorkâ ; and Depâljee, Pâlyâd.

Sejukjee was succeeded by his eldest son Rânjee. His

younger sons, Sâhâjee and Sârungjee, obtained the villages of Mândwee and Urteelâ,* and were the ancestors of the families of Gâreeâdhâr and Lâtee.

At this time, a chieftain named Ebhul, or Ubhye, of the Wâlo clan, held possession of Wâlâk-land and of its capital, the town of Wulleh, situated among the remains of the ancient city of Wullubheepoor ; he possessed, also, the neighbouring town of Tulâjâ. The position of the latter place has been already indicated. It stands at no great distance from the sea, on the banks of the river Shutroonj, which flows down from the sacred mountain of the Jains, and at the foot of a beautiful and pyramid-like hill, which the followers of the Teerthunkers regard as part of the back-bone of Soreth—a cone of the range of which Girnâr and Shutroonjye are the most celebrated pinnacles. The hill abounds in caverns and excavations, chiefly situated on its northern and western sides, and about midway between its base and its summit. The most remarkable of these is a rectangular excavation of considerable size, the exterior face of which has been formerly supported by four square pillars—all of them now removed. The architrave above them is enriched with square facets, and with a battlement of five four-centred arches, for which, as ornaments, though apparently ignorant of their constructive value, the early Buddhist architects exhibited a singular predilection.[1] Tradition has, however, forgotten the connection between this cave and the sectaries, who, when Sheelâditya ruled in Wullubhee, filled so important a place in story, and now assigns as its founder, Ebhul the Wâlo. Another large cave, close at hand, is dedicated to the Devee Khodeeâr (of whom hereafter) ; while of numerous similar smaller excavations, some are used as dwellings by wandering ascetics ; and others, and by far the greater portion, as reservoirs containing the purest rain water, for whose conduct into them small channels are cut all over the hill. On the summit stands a Jain temple, erected in A.D. 1381, and on the flat shoulder, to the west, a similar building of very modern date ; the ascent to both of which is rendered easy by steps formed of masonry, or hewn out of the living

[1] Vide *Illustrations of the Rock-cut Temples of India*, by Mr. Fergusson, p. 13.

rock. On the northern and eastern sides, the peak of Tulâjâ is clothed with foliage, whose rich and varied coloring adds to the effect of the temples, which, from their rocky pedestal, stand out white and brilliant against the blue sky. The town, lying at its feet,is surrounded by a handsome battlemented wall, and a clear rivulet creeps beneath the northern bastions, which bears the same name as the hill, and which unites a little below the town with the river that descends from Pâleetânâ. In a small shrine, on the eastern face of the hill, a lamp is lighted every night in honor of Tâluv Dyte, from whom the hill derives its classic name of Tâl Dwuj Geeree. Tâluv was, as tradition asserts, the foe of Ebhul Raja, by whose arms he was subdued ; but though his reputed conqueror is now impotent and well nigh forgotten, the Dyte still rules, seated on his rocky throne ; the lamp which burns before his shrine must never be extinguished, even in the stormiest night of the monsoon, though the torrents of rain rudely wound the mountain's side ; and when the loose fragments of rock roll down upon their dwellings, or pestilence rages among them, the inhabitants of Tulâjâ repent of having neglected the honor of Tâluv Dyte, and drawn down upon themselves this, his capricious vengeance.

In the days of Ebhul Wâlo, a merchant of the Jain faith had, it is said, filled so many store-houses with grain that he found it impossible to realize the value. He applied, in this strait, to his gooroo, one of the magic-skilled Juttees,* who writing a charm on an amulet, fastened it to the horn of a black antelope, which he set free to roam in the forest. After this the rain ceased to fall ; famine raged for seven years ; the cattle perished ; the people fled to Malwa ; and the land was desolate. The merchant's grain, however, was sold. Ebhul Wâlo, of all his numerous stud, had only five horses left. He was much distressed. A wood-cutter one day came into the court, and said that he had observed a black antelope in the jungle, which, wherever it moved, carried verdure with it. All then pronounced that some one must have bound the rain with this antelope. The raja and his followers went into the jungle, they caught the buck, and, unfastening the amulet tied to its horn, took out the paper, and read it. There was written

thereon—'When this note shall be dipped in water then shall 'the rain fall.' They took water from a bouget, and moistened the note. Torrents of rain began immediately to fall. Some of the followers of Ebhul Wâlo perished in the storm; the raja, himself, rode a horse of celestial breed; he put it to a gallop, and made for a light which he observed twinkling in the distance, and which led him to the house of a bard who lived in a 'Nes,' or collection of huts. The men had, all of them, gone off to Malwa; but the women were left behind, and one of them, named Syhee, the Nesuree, took Ebhul off his horse. The king was senseless from the fatigue he had undergone; but Syhee restored him to consciousness by embracing him, and rubbing him with warm fomentations. Ebhul, recovering, asked Syhee who she was; she replied that she was a bard's wife. He informed her that she had saved the life of Ebhul Wâlo, and pressed her to ask of him a boon.[1] She said, 'When a proper opportunity arrives I will ask it.' Ebhul then returned home to Tulâjâ.

The famine disappearing, the bard returned home. He was informed that, during his absence, his wife had entertained a stranger in her house for three days. The bard was inflamed with jealousy; he began to accuse his wife, and threatened her. Syhee, placing the palms of her hands together, looked up towards the sun, and prayed, saying—'Sooruj, Sire! If I 'am guilty, may I be struck with leprosy, or else may this 'bard!' Her husband became a leper. Syhee, satisfied with having, by this ordeal, established her innocence, carefully tended him, and carried him to Tulâjâ, to the gate of Ebhul Raja. She begged the door-keeper to inform Ebhul that his sister, Syhee, the Nesuree, had come to ask for her bodice. When he received the message Ebhul was seated with his son, Âno, at dinner; he rose immediately, and coming to the door, greeted the Nesuree, and asked her what she desired. She said, 'My husband has become leprous; but if he be bathed 'in the blood of a man who possesses the thirty-two marks of 'virtue, he will recover.' Ebhul enquiring where such a man was to be found, was told that his son, Âno, was such. The Wâlo returned sorrowfully into his private apartments. The

[1] Literally 'a bodice.'

Rânee asked who had arrived, and what was the intelligence which caused him so much distress. Ebhul said—'A bard's 'wife, to whom I made a promise, has come to demand its 'fulfilment, and asks for Âno's life.' Hearing this, Âno quickly answered,—'She says well, our names will live and be re-'nowned.' The Rânee also assented, and was pleased—thinking that men would say of her—'Such a jewel could 'have ripened only in the womb of such a mother.' At length Ebhul, determining to perform his promise, slew Âno, and washed the bard in his blood, upon which the leprosy immediately disappeared. By the favor of Yog Mâyâ, the bard's wife was enabled to restore Âno to life; but the devotion of himself and of his father still survives in verse—

> The giver of his head,
> Or the headsman should we praise?
> Men of Soreth! consider,
> Of the two Wâlos which was greater?

In the time of Ebhul, there lived at Wulleh, a Chârun, or bard, named Mâmureeo, of the Mâd sect, who had seven daughters suspected of being Shuktees, and of sucking the blood of live buffaloes and calves. Ebhul Wâlo on this account sent for their father, and ordered their expulsion from the city. Mâmureeo called his daughters, and said to them, 'You 'are Shuktees, no one will marry you, and the Raja orders 'that you should depart hence.' The seven sisters prepared to obey, and, at starting agreed among themselves that, whenever the temple of any of them should be found in a village, the other sisters should leave the place, and proceed onwards. The eldest of the sisters was lame, and hence named Khodeeâr. The others preceded her, and she limped after them, but to whatever village they came they found shrines already dedicated to the worship of Khodeeâr Devee, so powerful was her name.

Temples of Khodeeâr Mâtâ are still numerous in every part of Goozerat; vows are made, and offerings of buffaloes and calves presented to her. She has many 'Bhoowos,' [1] and numbers the chief of the Gohils among her most devoted worshippers. Her sister, Âwud, has a temple at Mâmchee, in Kâteewar, and the other sisters are similarly worshipped.

[1] For a description of the Bhoowos, see Conclusion.

There were formerly a thousand houses of Wâlum Brâhmins in Wulleh. They were the family priests of the Kyeusth caste, and had the care of the shrine of Wyejnâth Muhâ Dev. On the marriage of a Kyeusth maiden the Wâlum Brahmins exacted a fee of one hundred rupees,* so that many maidens, though they had attained the age of thirty years even, remained unmarried in consequence of their parents' inability to satisfy the Brahmins' demands. At length the whole Kyeusth caste ceased to celebrate any marriage, hoping thus to compel the Brahmins to abate their claims. The priests, however, met this step by threatening that they would perform trâgâ,† and inflict injuries upon themselves, of which the guilt should fall upon the Kyeusths. These, as a last resource, threw themselves at the feet of the raja. Ebhul Wâlo had been taught that the giver of a bride-gift acquired as much virtue-wealth as the performer of a horse-sacrifice. He caused the astrologers to search for a fortunate day, and declared that all the maidens should then be married, and that he would himself bear the expense that might be incurred. The Brahmins, however, refused to officiate unless their demands were satisfied beforehand; upon which, Ebhul, finding the power of these priests to be too great at Wulleh, caused all the maidens to be removed to Tulâjâ, where their marriages were celebrated by Brahmins of other places. The Kyeusths having thus effected their purpose returned to Wulleh, but the Wâlum Brahmins immediately repeated their demands as if the marriages had been performed by themselves, and resorted to trâgâ and other means of compulsion. The raja then called all the priests together, and held a council, with a view of settling the dispute to the satisfaction of all, but the Brahmins were much enraged, and allowed themselves to speak, even of the king, improper words. Ebhul Wâlo was very angry; he stood aloof while a number of Bheels, employed by the Kyeusths, attacked the priests, and committed many Brahmin murders. The priests who survived, carrying their families with them, retired from Wulleh, binding themselves by an oath that none of their race should ever after dwell in that town, or accept the office of family priest to any of the Kyeusth caste. Travelling towards Goozerat, the Brahmins arrived in the vicinity of Dhundhooka,

where Dhun Mair, the Koolee, ruled. He, having no son, presented his property, as Krishn-gift,* to the Brahmins. Four hundred of them settled at Dhundhooka; others, who refused the raja's gift, passed on into Goozerat, and took up their residence at Wâso, Sojeeturâ, and other towns. To those who remained, the raja granted the office of family priests to the Kshutrees and Vaishyas of Dhundhooka, and, though Modh Brahmins from other places came thither to act as family priests to the Modh Wâneeâs, this was not permitted, and, up to the present time, the Wâlum Brahmins are the priests of all castes in Dhundhooka.

Rânjee Gohil had meanwhile founded a town at the confluence of the Gomâ and Bhâdur rivers, no great distance from Dhundhooka, and had given to it the name of Rânpoor. He formed an alliance with the powerful Mairs, and to conciliate them, married a daughter of Dhun Mair, their chieftain, by whom he had a son, who acquired the village of Khus, and whose descendants still exist under the name of Khusheeo Koolees.[1]

Under pretence of avenging his oppression of the Brahmins, Rânjee Gohil and Dhun Mair combined to attack Ebhul, the Wâlo. The Gohil led two thousand Rajpoots, and five thousand Mairs followed their chieftain. It was, as some say, while Ebhul, according to his daily practice, worshipped the morning sun, that his enemies attacked him, and that, as he refused to leave his devotions, he was slain; but others assert that he fell, in the dusk of evening, on the field of battle, and that he was deserted by Nârâyun, whom, when he went forth, he had entreated to remain unmoved until he should return victorious. Hence, his monumental stone, which still stands among the ruins of Wullubhee, is believed to avert its face from the deity which had betrayed him, turning to the west at the dawn of day, and moving gradually to the east until the time of the setting sun.

[1] Another account makes the Khusheeo Koolees to descend from the marriage of Veeshojee, one of the brothers of Sejukjee Gohil, with the daughter of a Mair Koolee of the Dhundhooka family. [It should be noted that if Rānji Gohil lived before the time of Muhammad Tughlak (1323), the legend on pp. 344 ff., which makes him the brother-in-law of Mahmūd Begaḍa (1459) is inconsistent.]

The acts of Ebhul Wâlo are thus done into verse by Mâmureeo, the father of Khodeeâr,—

First, I brought back the departed rain
The fear of a terrible famine allaying;
Next, I cured the leper's pains,
Releasing Nesuree Syhee from the curse.
Āno's head I gave—Ī who am called Ebhul!
A band of maidens in one day I gave in marriage;
I, the Wâlo, victorious among those who keep their word!
Tulâjâ, the ornament of my royal diadem;
Wulleh, my royal seat, a diadem among thrones.
A son of the sun, my father Soorojee;
An ocean of gifts; of Hindoos the boundary;
Waster of founded cities, builder of cities in the waste;
A Malwa to the poor, a raja like Dhurum.

Dhun Mair resigned to his son-in-law their joint conquest of Wâlâk-land; and Rânjee Gohil removed his royal seat to Wulleh, and reigned there until his death.

Rânjee Gohil was succeeded by his son, Mokherâjee, the most celebrated of his line, and the first who bore the far-famed title of 'King of Perumbh.' The earliest achievement of Mokherâjee Gohil, was his taking up a strong position in the Khokurâ hills, which extend in a parallel line to the gulf of Cambay, between its waters and the mount of Pâleetânâ. From thence he made attacks upon different points on all sides, rendering himself the terror of the surrounding country. 'When, in the caves of Khokurâ, the lion roared, the dwellers 'in Vindyâchul abandoned their food, O Mokehrâ!' He possessed himself of Oomrâlâ and Bheemurâd,* Modulgurh and Meetheeâloo; but his most important conquests were those of Gogo and Peerum.

Ghoghâ, or, as it is usually called Gogo, is at present a neat and thriving sea-port town, containing upwards of eight thousand inhabitants, and possessing the best roadstead in the gulf of Cambay. Its seamen, called Ghoghârees, partly of the Mohummedan faith, and partly Koolee, or Hindoo, the descendants of the navigators fostered by the kings of Unhilwârâ, and to whom an entire square in that city was assigned, still maintain their ancient reputation, and form the best and most trusted portion of every Indian crew that sails the sea under the flag of

England. Modern alterations have left in Gogo few remains of the times of Mokherâ, the Gohil. On the south-west corner of the town, and outside the circuit of the present walls, may, however, be observed the site of the ancient citadel. The towers may still be traced by large heaps of earth denuded of their masonwork, except where it is in some places grasped by the peepul-tree's tenacious roots. The situation was admirably selected for defensive purposes, being the highest in the neighbourhood, and commanding an extensive view of the gulf and the island of Perumbh, or Peerum, on the one side, and on the other of the whole country as far as the foot of the Khokurâ hills. It is also well supplied with the purest water.

The islet of Peerum is separated from the coast of Gohilwârâ by a channel about three miles wide, and, in the centre, about sixty fathoms deep—the outlet by which the river of Wullubhee makes its escape seawards. The belief that the island was once connected with the mainland is very prevalent, and may have originated in the existence of numerous and intricate reefs which the ebb of the tide discloses, especially in the direction of the port of Gogo. Neither history nor natural science has yet found means for adequately explaining the many and extraordinary changes which have been enacted on the shores of the gulf of Cambay; and the formation of Peerum, and the destruction of Wullubhee, connected as they probably are, in the most intimate manner, remain confessedly mysteries. The island is almost covered by a continuous range of sand hills, resting on a scanty bed of black soil. These hillocks form a barrier against the sea, along the whole of the western face of the island, and are continually augmented by the drift occasioned, in the fair season, by the prevalent winds; but the eastern side is comparatively free from sand, and its soil affords a scanty subsistence to its few and temporary occupants. The asclepias which covers the summits of the sand hills, a few limb * trees, whose flattened tops serve the inhabitants as storehouses for their straw, some stunted bushes, and a grove of mangroves on the eastern shore, are all that Peerum has to boast of foliage. The swell during the south-west monsoon is particularly heavy on this coast, and the dangerous effects of its strong tides are nowhere, perhaps, so powerfully felt as in

the channel of Peerum. The first rush of the spring tide is irresistible in its force; and affords a scene which only the eye-witness can fully realise. A perpendicular wall of water, three or four feet in height, and extending across the gulf as far as eye can reach, approaches at the rate of twelve miles an hour in speed, and with an alarming noise, carrying certain destruction to the mariner whose ignorance or fool-hardiness leads him to neglect its warning voice.[1] Boats passing from the port of Gogo to Peerum, stand out as if with the intention of crossing to Dehej-bárá, at the mouth of the Nerbudda, lest the strength of the current should carry them into the strait. They are exposed to an uneasy chopping sea, which frequently breaks over them, and are obliged carefully to avoid the sunken reefs over which the water boils up into little conical waves. The landing is usually effected upon a sandy beach on the northern side of the island, below a bank upon which a white flag points out a spot, marked by a pâleeyo, dedicated to Mokherâjee Gohil. The remains of the fortress of Peerum may still be traced, occupying nearly the centre of the island, and stretching across its entire breadth. A few bastions, and the site of a gateway on the western side, may be clearly distinguished; and one of the entrances was formerly ornamented by two monolithe elephants, with their pedestals cut out of a stratum of the conglomerate rock, which has been so great a subject of interest from the fossil remains it has preserved. Within the enclosure of the old castle, the remains of a tank and well are visible; broken pieces of Hindoo sculpture strew the ground; and a hamlet, consisting of about a dozen huts, occupies nearly the centre. At the south-western corner of the fortress is an elevated piece of ground, formerly, probably, the site of the citadel, but now occupied by a lighthouse. From this point the value of Peerum, as the stronghold of a maritime or piratical power of former days, may be vividly perceived. On the one side is seen the coast of Gohilwârâ, the port of Gogo, and many villages nestling among groves of trees, with the whole of the country sloping upwards towards the Khokurâ

[1] *Vide* Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 221; see also the papers 'On the Island of Perim,' in the first volume of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

hills ; on the other side may be clearly distinguished the mouths of the Nerbudda and of the Tunkâreea river ; while, north and south, the eye sweeps the waters of the gulf of Cambay so completely, that of all that pass from ocean to the ports of wealthy Goozerat, no white sail by day, nor glimmering lantern by night, can escape the glance of the watchman of Peerum.

In these positions Mokherâjee Gohil at length established himself. 'Rân's son, the powerful, the raja of rajas, built a 'new city for his residence. On a hill he constructed a strong 'fortress ; the waves of the sea washed it on all sides. He 'made it famous under the name of Perumbh, did the lord 'of earth, seizing the kingdom of the Koolees. The Bâreâ 'was then the lord of it—of both Ghoghâ and Perumbh. 'Both Perumbh and Ghoghâ took Mokherâ ; seven hundred 'mariners he put to the sword ; he slew all the Koolees. 'Subduing the two cities, he made splendid the throne of 'Perumbh, did this great practiser of austerities in former 'birth, this chief of great fortune. At Perumbh he kept 'many a ship, for the roads to many countries lay there ; 'many a vessel did he plunder ; in every port he was an 'object of terror. From all that sailed he exacted tribute, 'did the raja seated on the throne of Perumbh. The image 'of Hunoomân he wore upon his armlet, the figure of Kâleekâ 'was impressed upon the hand of Mokherâ.'

The exactions and piracies of the King of Peerum at length drew upon him the weight of the imperial arms. His enemy is described in Hindoo tradition simply as Toghluk Shah ; but though the Mohummedan historians mention nothing of the fall of Peerum, there can be no danger in identifying this Moslem leader with the prince, the outline of whose story, as far as it affects Goozerat, we have just related,—Mohummed, the son of Gheiâs-ood-deen.

It was, no doubt, while employed in restoring order to this part of his dominions that Mohummed Toghluk Shah turned his arms against Mokherâjee Gohil. The immediate cause assigned by Hindoo legend is the ill-treatment of a merchant of Delhi, who brought fourteen vessels laden with gold dust to Peerum, which Mokherâjee plundered though he had pro-

mised to protect them, and given the God of the Sea as his security.

'Much troops of Ghuznee came against Perumbh and 'Ghoghâ; the kettle-drums and horns sounded; it seemed as 'if ocean had deserted his bounds. Many Mohummedans of 'different races were there—foot soldiers, horse, and elephants. 'With the ocean-lord to fight, they pitched their tents at the 'edge of the ocean. The Gohil alone in his den at Perumbh, 'roared like a lion. His austerities had been great, so he feared 'not a whit. The armies prepared, the arrows flew into the sky, 'but no blow struck the city of Mokherâ. Many days fought 'the Toghluk Shah with treacherous artifices, but a lakh of 'attempts failed; the shah was tired with his labors; in the 'water of the ocean his sight failed to reach; but Mokherâ, 'grasping his sword in his hand, maintained the honor of 'rajas.'

The enemy could not reach Mokherâ at Peerum, being unable to pass the strait, though the aggrieved merchant fasted, and adjured the God of Ocean, who had become security to him, to withdraw his waters, and leave a passage for the Moslem army. Mohummed Shah then drew off his troops, hoping to entice the Gohil from his impregnable position, a stratagem which the Moslem often practised, and to which the Rajpoot chiefs as often succumbed.

'Between Ghoghâ and Goondee * the Mohummedans fright-'ened remained. Then considered the raja, "death must 'come some day without doubt." Ascending a ship, he came 'in the night from Perumbh to Ghoghâ; he prepared to fight; 'taking in his hand his sword, he bound upon his brow the 'crown of dying. Causing the gate to be thrown open, the 'high-minded one led his army out, giving his soldiers 'encouragement. Mokherâ, the Muroo, attacked the padi-'shah's army; he trampled the Mohummedans in the mud. 'The pipe and the horn sounded; standards fluttered in the 'air; streams of blood flowed. The warriors of both armies 'mingling together, the sister's son of the padishah who led 'the Yuwuns was perceived by Mokherâ; he struck him from 'his elephant down to the ground. When Mokherâ Gohil 'began to strike, the Mohummedans thought of Allah. On

'the Usoor's army his blows rained; half of Toghluk's soldiers 'did the son of Rân slay with the sword. The enemy's array, 'torn by the sword of the king, seemed like a mountain which 'the lightning had riven. Then Mokherâ fell, he fell at the 'gate of Ghoghâ. The trunk of his body rushed on, brandish-'ing a sword; from the head which fell to the ground issued 'the cry, "kill! kill!" The army of the enemy fled in a body, 'many of the Yuwuns fell. The padishah himself escaped 'with difficulty. A charmed string, blue in color, they laid 'on the ground; then fell the trunk, then ceased the sword 'to move. The other warriors then turned back. Perumbh's 'lord fell on the earth, having performed to the full all his 'vows. Sejuk's grandson was proved to be of the race of 'Devs; his life was swallowed up in life, while the army of 'the padishah cried as it fled, "Well done, Hindoo! well 'done, Hindoo!"'

The fortress of Peerum was destroyed by the Mohummedans upon the death of its founder, and was never afterwards restored. Its association with his name is, however, still freshly preserved. The Hindoos delight to place a few grains of opium, under the name of a cup of Kusoomba,[1] on the monumental stone erected to his honor, and the mariners who sail past the island of Peerum seldom neglect to cast an offering of food into the sea to propitiate the shade of Mokherâjee Gohil.[2]

[1] [Skt. *kusumbha*, saffron flower. Opium-water is yellow.]

[2] [See the articles 'Gogha' and 'Piram' in *I. G.*, 1908. Both the town and island are included in the Ahmadābād district. Gogha has now lost its commercial importance, having been superseded by Bhaunagar, which is on the railway. A great find of fossil bones of Sivatherium and other huge beasts, allied to the Siwālik fauna, was discovered on the island in 1836.]

CHAPTER III

MOOZUFFER SHAH I.—SHAH AHMED I

MOOZUFFER KHAN, immediately on his accession, undertook the task of reducing the Hindoo chiefs to the position of tributaries, and his first expedition of this nature was directed against Eedur.

Row Sonungjee had been succeeded, in their turns, by Emuljee, Dhuwulmuljee, Loonkârojee, and Burhutjee, of whom nothing is recorded, except the remark, that 'until the 'time of Row Burhutjee, the kingdom was neither increased nor 'diminished.' Runmul, the son of Burhutjee, is better known. He it is whose guard-room is pointed out, over-topping the fortress of Eedurgurh; and by him, and the eleven Runmuls who attended him, the bard is supplied with many a theme for romantic story. 'Row Runmul took from a Yâduv family 'the country called the Bhâgur, between Eedur and Mewar, the 'capital of which, Jhárud-gurh, he made for some time his 'residence. From thence he removed to Pânowrâ. Runmul 'gave the Bhâgur to a *puttâwut*, or feudal vassal, of the Solunk-'hee blood; he received also a chief of the Sonuggera Chohâns 'who came to Eedur from Jhâlor, having been despoiled 'by the Mohummedans; to him the Row assigned the puttâ, 'or fief, of Jorâ Meerpoor. This Chohân family for some 'time intermarried with that of the Row; but after a time they 'connected themselves with Bheel women, and became out-'castes.'

'In the year A. D. 1393,' says Ferishta, 'the Ray of Eedur 'having refused to pay the customary tribute, Moozuffer Khân 'marched to enforce it. Several skirmishes ensued, in which 'the new governor was generally victorious until he arrived 'before the town of Eedur, which he closely invested. The 'siege being protracted, the garrison became so distressed for 'provisions, that it is said they consumed cats and dogs—not 'before these animals had begun to feed upon each other. The 'Ray, at length, sent out his son to prostrate himself before

'Moozuffer Khân, and to beg the lives of the inhabitants; a 'boon which was granted on condition of the payment of a 'quantity of jewels, and a large sum in specie.'

Moozuffer Khân was next engaged in vindicating the right of the sovereigns of Goozerat—a right dating, probably, at least as early as the reign of Sidh Râj—to the districts of Sultânpoor and Nundoorbâr, in Candeish, now attempted to be occupied by Adil Khân. On his return to his capital, he learnt that the Ray of Jehrend, in the western Puttun district, 'an idolater,' had refused allegiance to the Mohummedan authority. Moozuffur Khân accordingly marched against this chief, from whom he exacted tribute. He then proceeded to Somnâth, and once more overthrowing the Hindoo temples, converted them into mosques. The Governor of Goozerat next marched to Mundulgurh, which was surrendered to him; he then visited Ujmeer to pay his devotions at the shrine of a Mohummedan saint; and he returned home by Julwârâ, where he destroyed the temples, and exacted contributions.

In A. D. 1398, we find him engaged in another attack on Row Runmul, of Eedur, who was obliged, as on the former occasion, to purchase forbearance by the payment of tribute. The terrific inroad of Teimoor having just occurred, the court of Delhi was now in a state of the utmost confusion, and many rivals were contending for the crown. Moozuffer Khân and his son appear to have advanced pretensions to the imperial throne; but these were not pushed to extremity, and the Governor of Goozerat contented himself with assuming royal state in the kingdom of which he was already the real sovereign. It was about this time that he caused himself to be proclaimed king, under the title of Moozuffer Shah; struck coin in his new name of royalty; and caused it also to be inserted in the Khootba, or public prayers.

In A. D. 1401, Moozuffer Shah again marched to levy the tribute of Eedur; but Row Runmul fled to Veesulnugger, leaving the king to occupy his capital. Next year the shah gained a bloody victory, at Somnâth, over a Hindoo prince, then apparently residing at Diu. The place was surrendered after the battle, and its prince and the greater part of the garrison were murdered in cold blood.

The last achievement of Moozuffer Shah was an invasion of Malwa, where he engaged Hooshung, its ruler, near Dhâr, defeated him, and took him prisoner. He died on the 27th July, A. D. 1411.

Moozuffer Shah was succeeded by his grandson, Ahmed Khân; but Feroze Khân, the cousin of that prince, disputed his title, and caused himself to be proclaimed king, at Broach, by an army of seven or eight thousand men, encamped on the Nerbudda. The rebellion was, for the present, easily extinguished; and Ahmed Shah 'who had always professed him-'self extremely partial to the air and situation of the town 'of Yessâwul (Âshâwul), situated on the banks of the Sâbher-'mutee,' inaugurated his reign by laying the foundations of a new city, of which Yessâwul formed a suburb, and which afterwards became the capital of the Kings of Goozerat; receiving, from its founder, the name of Ahmedabad (A. D. 1412).

In the latter end of the same year, however, Feroze Khân again set up his pretensions to the crown, and assembled a considerable force, among whom he raised his standard at Morâsâ. He was soon joined by Row Runmul, of Eedur, with five or six thousand horse, and their complement of foot soldiers. On the approach of Ahmed Shah, a garrison was left in Morâsâ, and Feroze Khân and the Row retired to Rungpoor, a town ten miles further off. Here they were besieged by the shah, and, the town being at length carried by storm, were compelled to fly for refuge to the hills. It is said that soon after Row Runmul and Feroze Khân had some disagreement, upon which the Râthor chief seized the horses, elephants, and other effects of his late ally, and sought, by delivering them up, to conciliate the favor of the shah.

Ahmed Shah was now engaged in a war with Sultan Hooshung, of Malwa, who supported the faction opposed to his succession to the throne. The shah was successful, and his enemies were dispersed. One of them took refuge with the Râ of Soreth, at Girnâr, and the attention of Ahmed Shah was thus directed to that Hindoo principality.

The country of Soreth has always been one full of attraction for the Hindoo; it is to him an earthly paradise, a land

of clear rivers, of well-bred horses, of lovely women,—it is more, it is a holy land, to the Jain the land of Âdeenâth and Urisht Nemee,* to the orthodox Hindoo the country of Muhâ Dev and Shree Krishn. The follower of the Teerthunkers turns his pilgrim-thoughts towards the holy mountains of Girnâr and Shutroonjye; the servant of Vishnoo thinks of Soreth as each morning he places on his forehead the teeluk of Gopee Chundun; the worshipper of Shiva sounds with a conch-shell of Soreth the praises of the victorious Shunkur;[1] while the Rajpoot and the bard extol the gallantry of Râ Khengâr, or lament the fate of Rânik Devee, or, perchance, at evening, meeting beneath the village tree, when the hooka bubbles, and the wandering stranger tells his tales of other lands, repeat the verse,—

In Soreth are jewels five,
Horses, rivers, women;
Somnâth the fourth;
Fifth, Huree's presence.

Nor is the Mohummedan less eager in his praise. 'Fortune,' says the Meerât Sekunderee, 'seems to have selected 'this territory from the most fertile spots of Malwa, Candeish, 'and Goozerat, to present to the view at once all that was 'valuable in those countries; but to all the advantages which 'it derives from its soil, in common with those provinces, it possesses in its ports another, which they cannot boast of, from 'which its merchants obtain wealth, and the inland countries many of those luxuries so much in demand.'

We have unfortunately little material for the history of

[1] The port of Verâwul, on the coast of Soreth, is called by Hindoos 'the field of lamentation,' because on the death of Shree Krishn and the Yâduvs, his companions, Rookmunee, the bride of Krishn, and the Yâduv ladies, sacrificed their lives there on the funeral pile. Near Verâwul is a tank, called, in memory of Krishn's favorites, the Shepherdesses of Vruj, the Gopees' or Shepherdesses' tank. The slime of this reservoir, which is white, and bears the name of Gopee Chundun, or Gopee sandal wood ointment, is used by Vaishnavites, and especially by the Râmâ Nundee ascetics, to make the mark of the god upon their foreheads.

The shunkhs or conch-shells, which are used as horns in the temples of Shiva, are picked up on the coast of Soreth about Dwârkâ.

'the race of Huree,'—the Yâduv princes of Girnâr.[1] We have described their capital; we have related the story of Khengâr; we have seen the Gohils and others entering Soreth as vassals of the Râs, and the family of those princes itself subdividing into petty chieftainship; we shall now have little to record but long-continued and, at last, successful attempts at conquest by the Mohummedans, until we come to the closing scene, when, for a mere pittance, the Choodâsumâ waives his sovereign rights, and under title, derived from all that remains of the ancient line of Khengâr, the banner of the union crosses is unfurled in Soreth.

'Ahmed Shah,' says the Mohummedan historian, 'having 'a great curiosity to see the hill-fort of Girnâr, pursued the 'rebel in that direction; and as none of the rajas had yet bent 'their necks to the Mohummedan yoke, he took advantage of 'the circumstance of the raja having afforded an asylum to 'Sher Mullik, to make it a plea for invading his country. On 'his arrival at the hills in its vicinity, the king was opposed 'by the Hindoo prince, who, unaccustomed to the brunt of 'Mohummedan warfare, was defeated, and pursued to the for- 'tress of Girnâr, now called Joonagurh. After a short time, 'the raja, having consented to pay an annual tribute, made a 'large offering on the spot. Ahmed Shah left officers to collect 'the stipulated amount, and returned to Ahmedabad; on 'the road to which place he destroyed the temple of Somâ- 'poor, wherein were found many valuable jewels and other 'property.'[2]

In addition to his attempts against the more powerful Hindoo

[1] In the first volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Bombay Branch) is a fragment of an inscription on a tablet at the entrance of Râ Khengâr's palace at Girnâr, which mentions the names of Nowghun, Khengâr, and Munduleek, and alludes to Sidh Râj Jye Singh Dev, 'whose eyes were moistened and intoxicated with the stream of the 'enjoyment of the bright pleasures afforded by earth; the magnitude of 'whose glory dazzled the enemies; and whose feet were washed by the 'fluid radiating from the gems on the brilliant crowns of kings who 'humbled themselves before him.' There is unfortunately no date.

[2] [From Briggs' Firishta, Calcutta reprint, iv, 17–18. For Somâpoor read Sidhpur, 58 miles N. of Ahmadābād, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. i. 236–7. Sidhpur is described on p. 63 *supra*.]

princes, the efforts of Ahmed Shah were directed also against many of the numerous chieftains who held lands of greater or less extent in different parts of Goozerat. Some of these, sheltered in inaccessible natural fortresses of forest or mountain, were with difficulty compelled to pay a tribute, which was, from the first, always withheld, except when enforced by the presence of superior military power; others who were less favorably situated for defence were driven wholly from their lands, and lived the life of outlaws, until their continual harassing incursions drove the proud conqueror to a composition, and they regained, on terms which included submission and tribute, a part of their hereditary domains. Some there were, who, urged by persuasion or compelled by force, exchanged the creed of their fathers for Islâm, and, treated on this account with more consideration, assumed the position of Mohummedan zumeendars. The work, however, was never fully accomplished; it was a labor of Sisyphus; allegiance sat as lightly on zumeendar as upon Thâkor or Row, and notwithstanding many a boast of the arrogant Moslem, the restoration of peace and unity to Goozerat was reserved for other hands, a wiser and more merciful policy, and a long future time.

'It must be known,' says the author of Meerât Ahmudee, 'that at the time of Allah-ood-deen, the Mohummedan faith 'was introduced into the country extending from Nehrwala 'Puttun on the west, to Broach on the east; but infidelity 'was still established in many places. These, however, 'became purified and enlightened by degrees, through the 'efforts of the Goozerat kings; and many of them acquired 'the light of the faith through the labours of Shah Ahmed.' In the year A. D. 1414, one of the king's officers, ennobled by the title of Tâj-ool-moolk, received a special commission to destroy all idolatrous temples, and establish the Mohummedan authority through Goozerat; a duty which he executed with such diligence, that as Ferishta is anxious to believe 'the 'names of Mewâs and Grâs were hereafter unheard of in the 'whole kingdom.'

It was not to be supposed that the Bardic chroniclers should have passed over, without notice, such a revolution as was now attempted, nor have they done so, and though, in their usual

temper, they have made the domestic features more prominent than the political or the religious, they have given us a picture of the times which we could not afford to lose, and much of the spirit, if not of the accurate details, of history, in the following picturesque tale of

THE COURTSHIPS OF AHMED SHAH

When the padishah, says our present bardic authority, had taken the kingdom of the Wâghelas, there arose of that race two brothers named Wurhojee and Jetojee, who went out in rebellion.[1] In the country called Thul, near Unhilwârâ Puttun, there are two villages, named Bheeluree-gurh and Surdhâr, at which they placed their families for shelter, on which account the descendants of the former are called Bheelâreea, and of the latter Surdhâra Wâghelas. The chiefs left their families, and used to make forays as far as Ahmedabad, with about one hundred and fifty horsemen. Sometimes in the day-time and sometimes at night, they plundered the villages

[1] The original term is 'Bâhirwutoo;' the rebel himself is termed 'Bâhirwuteeâ.' 'This term,' says Colonel Walker, 'is derived from *Bâhir* 'outside, and *wât* a road.' 'The offence consists in the Rajpoots, or 'Grassias, making their ryots and dependents quit their native village, 'which is suffered to remain waste, and the Grassia with his brethren then 'retires to some asylum, whence he may carry on his depredations with 'impunity. Being well acquainted with the country, and the redress of 'injuries being common cause with the members of every family, the 'Bâhirwuteea has little to fear from those who are not in the immediate 'interest of his enemy, and he is in consequence enabled to commit very 'extensive mischief, until he may be extirpated, or his principal forced to 'compromise the dispute. The number of small fortresses in the country, 'the want of artillery, and little skill in its management, render it easy for 'a person to obtain an asylum where he may defy the attacks of his 'enemies, while the safety which these holds afford causes the com-'mission of numerous acts of depredation which otherwise would not be 'committed.' In the hill country of Eedur, in the north-east of Goozerat, it is said of such an outlaw that he is 'Wukhé,' or 'in trouble.' We shall have many examples to produce in the following pages. A very similar course of proceeding to that of the Bâhirwuteea is described in the 14th chap. II Samuel. 'Therefore Absalom sent for Joab, to have sent him 'to the king; but he would not come to him: and when he sent again 'the second time he would not come. Therefore he said unto his servants, 'see, Joab's field is near mine, and he hath barley there; go and set 'it on fire. And Absalom's servants set the field on fire.'

of Ahmedabad; sometimes they carried off men. The padishah, Sultan Ahmed, took great trouble to apprehend them, but without success. At last, their means of subsistence being much reduced, they suffered greatly, and gradually lost most of their horsemen. There is a village called Nâshmud, on the road between Ahmedabad and Kuree, near Sântuj. At the tank of that village the brothers arrived one night. In the early morning, a Râjpoot of the village, named Bhundâree Ukho, was driving out a cartload of manure to his field. One of the Wâghela's followers seeing him approach, concealed himself. The peasant who drove Ukho's cart perceiving this said, 'Sir! I think the outlaws are come to the tank; we had 'better move on quickly.' Ukho said, 'Fear them not, there 'is no Rajpoot among them like me, or they would have 'recovered their lands (grâs) within three days.' The Wâghelas' follower hearing this speech, went and told his chiefs; they sent him to invite the Râjpoot to come to them. Ukho Bhundâree having come to them, the brothers asked him what it was that he had said. He thought within himself that he had meant it merely as a jest, but he would not deny his words. 'Yes! my lord,' he said, 'if you had a Râjpoot like 'me with you, you would recover your lands in three days.' The brothers said they would mount him on one of their horses which was worth a hundred pounds, and give him anything else he asked for. They took him with them towards Ahmedabad.

The Hoormâ, or queen of the padishah, and the Begums of the Mohummedan chieftains, went every Friday to the holy place at Mukurbo, near Sirkhej, with five hundred chariots and a numerous escort. The attendants, however, remained at a short distance off, and the ladies alone went to the tomb of the saint. Ukho Bhundâree said to the brothers, 'Unless 'you seize these ladies, you will not recover your lands.' When the ladies' carriages had entered the precincts of the tomb, the Rajpoot horsemen surrounded them. The Hoormâ asked who they were; they said they were Wurho and Jeto, who, having lost their hereditary estates, were determined to die, and announced their intention of driving off the carriages. The Hoormâ said, 'If you take away my honor I must die.

'I will go into the city and procure the recovery of your 'lands for you immediately.' She swore to this solemnly, and the horsemen then retired. In the meanwhile, the escort discovering the Wâghelas, prepared for an attack, but the Hoormâ forbad them to molest the Rajpoots. They obeyed her commands. The Hoormâ went into the city, and at night sat moodily in the palace, forbidding the lamps to be lighted. The padishah, being apprised of this, came to her, and asked what had happened. She told him the whole, and said, 'I have 'given my oath, therefore you must send for the two brothers, 'and reinstate them in their lands. If they had driven 'off my carriage, where would have been the padishah's 'honor?'

The padishah invited the brothers with great respect into Ahmedabad, and promised them dresses of honor. The Hoormâ had told them to remain at the white well near Pâlaree, and that she would send a hostage (bândhur) for them in the morning. They did accordingly, and in the morning the padishah sent his ministers, Mânikchund and Moteechund, who went to the spot, and, with the assistance of a gardener, called Wurhojee and Jetojee to them. The Wâghelas asked what security they had that they should not be seized, and cast into prison. The ministers said they were securities for them themselves, and taking oaths to this effect, brought them towards the city. It was nearly sunset when they arrived at the gate, and observed a woman seated by the road-side in an indecent posture. The Wâghelas enquired of what caste the woman might be; the ministers said they supposed she was a Brahmin or a Wâneeo. The Rajpoots enquired further, of what caste the ministers themselves were; they answered that they were Wâneeâs. Wurho then said to Jeto, 'Brother! 'these ministers are the sons of women who behave thus in 'open day—what shame will they feel if the padishah throw 'us into prison, or what hold can they have upon him? We 'had better turn back from this place.' They said to the ministers, 'We cannot rely upon your security;' and then turning, went back to the white well. The ministers related what had happened to the padishah, who sent to ask the brothers the reason of their distrust. The Wâghelas said that

they would not come without better security. The padishah then sent some of his Umeers as security, and the Rajpoot horsemen again advanced towards the city. It was evening, and the way was somewhat narrow. As they turned a corner they came suddenly upon a Puthân woman who was passing along, with her face veiled; and who, seeing the horsemen, endeavoured to conceal herself, but found no place. She considered with herself that it was not right, that any man should see a Mogul's daughter, and having no other resource, jumped into a well. A number of people hearing the noise ran together. The Rajpoots also stopped. When the woman was taken out, it was discovered who she was, and what was the reason of her falling into the well. Wurho and Jeto then felt confidence that the honor of the sons of such women would be a safeguard to them. Thus they came to the padishah's court. He ordered their old clothes to be taken from them, and presented them with new ones. From the old garments four pounds' weight of lice were taken out—such calamity had the Rajpoots endured in the jungle.

The brothers considered in what way they could please the padishah; they gave him their sister, Lálá, in marriage. Ahmed Shah gave them the five hundred villages of Kulol, and asked them how they would divide the estate. Wurho and Jeto said the elder brother would take the larger share according to custom. The padishah asked what foundation the custom had, to which the younger brother replied, that its foundation was 'force.' Ahmed Shah said that as they had suffered alike they should share equally. Wurho, upon this, took Kulol and two hundred and fifty villages. The chief of his descendants now holds Lembor, and junior branches hold Pethápoor and Pendairoo, with twelve villages apiece. The rest have been expelled by the Koolees. The younger brother had the two hundred and fifty villages of Sânund. The brothers had arranged that the elder should have the best land, but by-and-bye the younger brother's land began to produce fine wheat, while the elder could hardly grow vetches.

After these things a Thâkor, or chieftain, who possessed three hundred and fifty villages, named Beeolá Sâmunt Singh, was one day passing along the road beneath the padishah's palace.

It was the hot weather, and, as the sun was very powerful, he had thrown a cloth over his head, for at that time chutrees were not in use, and only the great Mohummedan omrah were permitted to use âftâbgeerees.[1] Wurho and Jeto were at this time seated in one of the windows of the palace. They said, in ridicule, 'Who is it that goes along hiding his face?' Sâmunt Singh, hearing this, said, 'Why should I hide my 'face? They may well hide their faces whose daughters and 'sisters have been given to the Mohummedans.' Wurho and Jeto were very much enraged when they heard this; they swore that Sâmunt Singh should give his daughter to a Mohummedan or they would no longer call themselves Wurho and Jeto, but would submit to be dishonored. Sâmunt Singh, meanwhile, went on to his lodging. The Wâghela brothers, on the first opportunity, told the padishah that the chieftain of Beeol had insulted them, and that the only remedy was, that Ahmed Shah should take to wife the Beeolâ's daughter, a young lady fourteen years of age, and celebrated for her beauty. The king assented to their proposal; and said to some of his Mogul officers, 'When Sâmunt Singh comes to court, demand 'his daughter for me in marriage.' They answered, 'Your 'Majesty! this Sâmunt Singh is a dweller in the forest; he 'will not easily be brought to listen to what we say; and, in'deed, it is a difficult matter for us to speak to him on the 'subject.' The padishah said, 'Well, when he comes, remind 'me of the matter, and I will speak to him.' One day Sâmunt Singh came to the court. The Mogul officers reminded the sultan, and he asked, 'Sâmunt Singh, what children have 'you?' The chief answered, 'Your Majesty! I have one 'son and one daughter.' Ahmed Shah asked how old the daughter was. He said, 'She is seven years of age.' The padishah enquired why the Rajpoots delayed so long marrying their daughters. The chief said, that it would cost him two or three hundred pounds to marry his daughter, and that it was difficult for him to spare so much; and further, that if he

[1] Chutree *here* means the common parasol or umbrella of modern days; âftâbgeeree a magnificent state umbrella. Chutree, however, equally means the royal canopy; it is the Hindoo, as the other is the Mohummedan, word.

married her at too early an age, and she were to die, the money would be thrown away. The king said, 'Well! Sâmunt 'Singh, marry your daughter to the padishah's throne.' The Thâkor replied, 'You say well, sire, I know that many Hindoo 'raja's daughters are in the king's harem—the Kulol Raja's, 'the Eedur Raja's, and others—therefore, if my daughter be 'there too, it will be well, but she is too young as yet, and, in 'appearance, far from worthy of the king. There may be 'among my kinsfolk some maiden worthy of the king—her I 'will marry to your majesty.' The padishah said, 'Marry 'me your daughter, however things may be.' Sâmunt Singh made many excuses as to her youth; but the padishah continued to insist, until he promised his consent. The chief went to his lodging; and the king calling for Wurho and Jeto, told them that Sâmunt Singh had agreed to give his daughter, notwithstanding their predictions to the contrary. They said, 'He has so far agreed certainly, but among Rajpoots it is the 'custom for the bridegroom to present a dress and jewels to 'the lady, which we call "*wusunt*," if the Beeolâ receive '"wusunt," we may then reckon the affair as settled.'

Some days afterwards, Sâmunt Singh having come into the court, Ahmed Shah said to him, 'Sâmunt Singh receive '"wusunt" on behalf of your daughter.' He said he would after his return home. The king said, 'No! take it away 'immediately to your lodging.' The chief was then forced to receive it. The king told the brothers that their prophecy, in regard to the Beeolâ's refusing to receive 'wusunt,' had proved as untrue as their first prediction. They said, 'He 'has received "wusunt," but he will certainly not fix the day.' The king upon this said to Sâmunt Singh at the next interview, 'You must fix the day for the marriage.' He replied, 'I have been here ten months; I must return home, and look 'after my revenues; and it will take me a year to make pre'parations for the marriage; I have not the means, at present, 'to pay for a wedding with the padishah. Wait awhile.' The king said, 'Take what sum of money you require from 'the treasury, but fix the day.' He answered, 'Your majesty! 'if I take money of yours for the purpose, that will not be 'creditable to me.' The padishah, nevertheless, ordered

a camel's load of treasure to be conveyed to Beeol. With that money Sâmunt Singh built a fort at Beeol with bastions, and collected powder and ball, and soldiers. Then he sent word to the padishah to say, 'Now be pleased to come, and be 'married.'

About fourteen miles from Beeol is a hill, which is a very terrible place; there is a fortress there, called 'Dhoree-'Pâwutee.' At that place, Sâmunt Singh had built a great mansion, and he had made a large cave under ground, in order that he might retreat thither if forced from Beeol. The remains of these still exist, and people say that there is much treasure buried there, but from fear of the bees no one can enter.[1] About two miles from the same place is Kedâreshwur Muhâ Dev, which is believed to be of the time of the Pânduvs, and twelve miles further on is Oontâreeya Muhâ Dev, which is far older than the time of the Pânduvs.

The king, taking a force with him, went towards Beeol, and pitched his camp four miles from the place. Sâmunt Singh sent his brother and nephew to the king, to enquire whether he intended to be married in the Mohummedan fashion or as a Hindoo. The king said he had never seen a Hindoo marriage, and would prefer that fashion. They said, 'The king has 'come to our home to be married; we must, therefore, per-

[1] In an eastern country, and in such a locality, *the bees* are an enemy by no means to be despised. Moses reminds the Israelites in Deuteronomy, how the Amorites, which dwelt in the mountain, came out against them, and chased them '*as bees do*.' And Joshua relates how the wasps or hornets, 'the forerunners of God's host,' drove out the same enemy from before them. In his *Western India*, Colonel Tod tells a story of Mahmood Begurra, Sultan of Ahmedabad, and his iconoclastic attempts upon a brass bull of colossal size at the shrine of Uchuleshwur upon Mount Aboo. 'In descending from Aboo, after the reduction of Uchulgurh, his banners '"fanned by conquest's crimson wing," confusion waited on them from 'an unlooked-for source. *A legion of bees*, issuing from their pinnacled 'retreats, attacked and pursued the invaders even to Jhâlor. To 'commemorate this victory over the spoiler, the name of *Bhumur thul*, 'or 'Bees' Valley,' 'was given to the spot. A temple was erected, and 'from the captured arms thrown away in their flight, a vast trident was 'formed, and placed in front of the divinity who thus avenged the 'insult to Nundee.' *Vide* p. 87, Tod's *Western India*.

Not many years ago at Kaira, in Goozerat, the funeral procession of a British officer was as effectually put to the rout by an army of bees.

'form the ceremony in a handsome manner. We will fire off 'guns, and cast red powder into the air, and it is our Hindoo 'practice to ridicule the bridegroom's party, and to sprinkle 'them with salt and sand. If, perchance, your followers 'do not take it in good part, and strike any one, there may 'arise a great fight out of the marriage. You must, there-'fore, make them understand that they are not to quarrel 'with any Beeol man who may ridicule them.' The king gave orders accordingly to his followers. Sâmunt Singh's brother next said, 'Sire! there is not room enough near 'Beeol for your army to encamp. Let the great chiefs and 'nobles, therefore, be sent on in advance; do you come your-'self after them, and let the troops come last.' Having delivered the whole of their message, they returned into the town. The king sent on his chief officers, following them himself, his troops being in the rear. When they arrived near Beeol, they found five thousand Rajpoots waiting for them, with guns loaded with ball. They closed the gate, and fired a volley from the ramparts, slaying many of the king's troops; but Ahmed Shah for a long time continued to think they were in sport. When he saw many men fall, however, he perceived that it was treachery. The fight went on for seven days, at the end of which time Sâmunt Singh having sustained a severe loss, carried off his family to Dhoree Pâwutee. The king's army entered Beeol, and plundered it; Ahmed Shah remained there three months looking after the wounded, preparing military stores, and collecting troops. At length he set off for Dhoree Pâwutee. He cut down many trees there, and continued to attack the place for two months. People say, that at last Sâmunt Singh fired balls of gold and silver at the Mohummedans. In the end, Sâmunt Singh, flying from Dhoree Pâwutee, took refuge at the mountain called Ghoonwo, and married his daughter to the Row of Eedur. The king seized his three hundred and fifty villages.

Sâmunt Singh remained in outlawry for twelve years, during which time he caused the Mohummedans much annoyance. At last the king sent security to him, offering an accommodation. Sâmunt Singh said he would live in peace if his lands were restored. The king then gave *wântâ* lands in eighty-four

villages in the Dehgâm Pergunnah to Sâmunt Singh, and settled the dispute. Sâmunt Singh returned to Beeol, and took up his residence there ; and, at the present day, descendants of his are existing under the name of Beeola Rajpoots, who hold *wântâ* lands in Dehgâm.

Lâlâ, the sister of Wurho and Jeto, died ; some people say from drinking hot milk, which scalded her internally. The shah, who was very fond of her, and enchanted with her beauty and accomplishments, became distracted. He sent his ministers into different countries to procure him such another Hindoo wife, but they could find no beauty like Lâlâ among Hindoos or Mohummedans. The king, coming to Ahmedabad, made proclamation to this effect, and was more distracted than ever. He deserted the management of his affairs, and sat in a stupor of sorrow. The ministers thought there was no remedy but to procure for him another wife such as Lâlâ, the Wâghelânee. They sent a Brahmin, employed for such purposes, to seek another fair one. The Brahmin, after travelling through many countries, came at last to Mâtur, where there was a Seesodeea Raja, of the house of Cheetor, who bore the name of Sutrâsuljee, and the title of Râwul. He possessed sixty-six villages, and had a daughter, named Râneebâ, and two sons Bhânjee and Bhojjee. Râneebâ was very beautiful. The Brahmin when he saw her was much delighted, thinking that, when he carried to court the good news that he had discovered her, he should receive a dress of honor. He went to the king's ministers, and told them that he had found a successor for Lâlâ Wâghelânee. They gave him a dress of honor, and made him detail the particulars. He said he had found at Mâtur, in the Churotur, a beautiful maiden, the daughter of Râwul Sutrâsuljee. The ministers sent for Sutrâsuljee to Ahmedabad, and with much respect, solicited him to marry his daughter to the throne. Sutrâsuljee answered that the daughter of a Hindoo could not be thus married. The ministers urged that the harem of the shah contained many Hindoo rajas' daughters. Sultrâsuljee merely answered, 'They and I are different.' The Deewâns said that if he did not give his consent willingly they should be compelled to extort it. The Râwul still refused, and, at last, was thrown into prison. His wife, when she heard

the news, considered within herself, 'I must look upon this 'daughter as one who is dead; but, by some means or other, 'I must save the Chief's life and our *grâs*.' She sent her daughter, accordingly, to Ahmedabad. When the lady, wearing her ornaments, was introduced to the king, he was astonished at her beauty, and exclaimed, 'Is this Lâlâ returned?' She answered, 'That Lâlâ has gone.' The king recollected himself. The next day he held a court. He caused the fetters to be struck off Sutrâsuljee, and, calling him into court, presented him with a dress of honor. Sutrâsuljee thought lightly of his imprisonment, congratulating himself that he had escaped giving his daughter to the Mohummedan. He returned cheerfully home. When the time came for sitting down to dinner he called for Râneebâ. The Rânee pretended to go out for her, and, returning, said that Râneebâ was amusing herself, and would not come. Sutrâsuljee declared he would take no food until she arrived. Then the Rânee said to him, 'My lord! 'when Râneebâ was sent to the king at Ahmedabad your 'prison doors were opened.' Hearing this, Sutrâsuljee was overpowered with grief. He said, 'What mattered it had I 'died there? I am of the race of Cheetor; I have myself been 'called Nukulunkee;[1] such a stain was never before cast upon 'the Seesodeeas' honor. Fie upon you that you have spotted 'it thus!' The Rânee said, 'Your life would have been lost, 'let us then look upon our daughter as one who is dead.' The Rajpoot rose, quick as thought, and seized his sword; his wife cast her arms round him, but he dashed her from him down to the ground, and, drawing the weapon, plunged it into his belly, and fell a corpse.

Sutrâsuljee's sons, Bhânjee and Bhojjee, carefully performed his obsequies; they began to rule at Mâtur. When the matter became known at Ahmedabad, Râneebâ performed ablutions, and was very sorrowful. Beholding her grief, the king said kindly to her, 'When any one of the Hindoo rajas dies, and 'his sons succeed to the throne, is there anything which a 'relation can do to help them?' Râneebâ said, 'A rich 'relation may send a dress of honor, and replace with it their 'white habiliments of mourning.' The king said, 'Let me send

[1] The 'Stainless.'

'for your brothers here to make them presents, and remove their 'mourning.' So was it done; the Thâkors came to Ahmedabad, and alighted at their own lodging. The king sent them hay, grain, and other necessaries; he said to the lady, 'I will 'this day present your brothers with dresses of honor.' She said, 'What brothers, and what sister? I am no longer related 'to them.' The king asked, 'How? Are they not your 'brothers?' Râneebâ answered, 'I am now a Mohummedan, 'they are Hindoos, we cannot eat together or drink of the 'same cup of water. How then any longer are we brothers 'and sister!' The king replied, 'Do you prepare dinner for 'them to-day.' Hearing this, the lady reflected, 'I meant 'well, but it has turned out otherwise.' When the king sent for the brothers, they came in expectation of receiving dresses of honor, and sat down at their sister's mansion. The lady, when they were alone, said to them, 'Shame on you, brothers, 'that though our father died on account of his grief at my 'being given up to the Mohummedan; you are come here to 'be made outcastes!' She then explained the intentions of the king. The younger brother, Bhojjee, at once dropped from the window, and made his escape; the elder brother, Bhânjee, remained. The king came out, and said, 'Eat of the food 'which your sister has prepared.' Bhânjee said, 'Sire! 'I cannot.' The king said, 'Why stand you thus aloof?' Bhânjee said, 'Sire! if I eat here, no Rajpoot will give me 'his daughter to wife.' The king said, 'Think not of that, 'I will bring as many Râjpoots as you please, and make them 'eat with you.' He compelled Bhânjee to partake of the repast. The Thâkor was much grieved at this, and to assuage his grief, the king caused Rajpoots from fifty-two villages to be brought to Ahmedabad. At this time many Rajpoots hearing that the king meditated their forcible conversion, abandoned their villages and 'grâs,' and went away into other countries. Such as fell into the king's hands were compelled to forfeit their caste. Things went on in this way for many days; many a battle was fought, and many a Rajpoot lost his life.

Near Châmpâner is Râjpeepla, which is the capital of three hundred and fifty villages. The raja of it was Thâkor Hureesunghjee Gohil. On one occasion a set of pearls of great value

having been presented to him, he had made a necklace of them for his Thâkorine. He said to her—'There is water, 'truly, in these.' When the struggle with the king occurred, the Raja of Râjpeepla, with the other chiefs, was compelled to fly into the jungle. At a time when they were suffering dreadfully from thirst, the Rânee, looking sorrowfully at her necklace, said—'Thâkor! you once told me there was 'water in these.' On this incident the Chàruns made the following verses,—

'O! shah, sultan, friend, when you became angry, the 'Shesh could not support its burthen; the earth began to 'tremble. You slew the warrior Rajpoots, full of pride—them 'of the Rewâ. On all sides the dust was wetted with blood. 'O! sultan, from fear of you, blistered were the feet of the 'Bhoomeeâs' Rânees; they wandered, eating esculent roots; 'Upsurâs in form, they tore the pearls from their necks, and, 'squeezing them into their husbands' mouths, cried—"You 'said there was water in these."' After twelve years spent in outlawry, Hureesunghjee Gohil recovered his 'grâs' from the shah, and his descendants still rule at Râjpeepla.

The Rajpoots who were thus put out of caste, concludes the bard, formed a separate caste, called 'Molesulâm,' because they had bowed (or made sulâm) to the Mohol, or palace of the sultan. These still dress as Hindoos; some of them practice the Hindoo religion, and some the Mohummedan; but among them the corpses of the dead are always buried, and not burned. Their women also dress as Hindoos. Other Hindoos look down upon them as Mohummedans; but they retain the names of the clans they formerly belonged to; and have Bhâts for their Wyewunchâs, who read their pedigrees. At marriages they do not use the fire-sacrifice; but are united with prayers; they retain, however, the 'Gunesh-poojâ,' and some other Hindoo rites. Some Rajpoots, who escaped notice from their unimportance, retained their caste, and are known as Kâru-deeas; others who were too powerful to be subjected, but agreed to become tributary to the sultan, remained rajas, and were still addressed by the title of Jee. A number of poor Rajpoots, remaining aloof 'nurwa,' and seeking nothing further than permission to cultivate the land, became Nârodas.

The Wâneeas and Brahmins, who were made outcaste at the same time, joined the sect of the Borahs.[1]

The elder branch of the Wâghelas soon after these times melted away. Ânund Dev, the grandson of the first chief, held the undivided estate of Kulol, but his younger son, Rânik Dev, received as his patrimonial inheritance Roopâl, with forty-two villages. In A. D. 1499, when Mahmood Begurra, the grandson of Shah Ahmed, was upon the throne, Roodâ

[1] 'But there is another tribe of Mohummedans, which cuts a consider-'able figure in this collectorate (Broach) as agriculturists: these are the 'Borahs; but they are quite a distinct sect from the trading Borahs. 'Agriculture is their sole pursuit and occupation, although they some-'times hire out their carts, and accompany them as their drivers. They 'are the most active, industrious, and skilful cultivators in the Zilla, as 'the appearance and resources of their villages fully indicate; their dress, 'manners, and language are the same as those of the Koonbee and other 'Hindoo cultivators; they were, indeed, themselves originally Hindoos. 'Their ancestors are supposed to have been for the most part Koolees and 'Rajpoots, with perhaps a few Koonbees; and their conversion, they 'think, took place in the time of the Mohummedan monarch of Goozerat, 'known by the name of Sultan Mahmood Begurra. The Goozeratee is 'the language spoken among these Borahs, and not the Hindostanee, 'as in the case of those among the Mohummedan cultivators, called 'Mulleks, Khans, &c. All the cultivating Borahs are Soonees.'—Colonel Williams's *Memoir on the Zilla of Baroche*, p. 91.

The following account of the origin of the Borahs is from an article on Oujein by Connoly, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (*Bengal*), vol. vi, p. 842:—

'A man, named Yakub, obliged to quit his country from some domestic 'or party feud, was the first of his sect who put his foot in India, having 'left Egypt and landed at Cambay, A. H. 532 (A. D. 1137). At this time 'the chief Mulla of the sect (which had been for some years settled in 'Yemen) was Zohribbin Musa. Egypt obeyed the rule of the Caliph 'Mostemsir Billah, and *Sadras Singh* governed the Hindoo kingdom of '*Pirân-pattan*. Now Mostemsir, say most authorities, died A.H. 487, and 'his grandson, Hafedh, the 11th caliph, reigned from 524 to 544. The 'Guzerat chronicles, though very confused at this period, agree better 'with the above date, for Siddha, or Jaya Singh, of which Sadras may be 'a corruption, was King of Anhulwara patan in 1094.'

See, however, the remainder of the article. It appears that Yakub landed at Cambay, and lived with a gardener, whom he converted. He subsequently converted the son of a Brahmin. 'The King Sadras,' and his two dewans, the brothers, 'Târmall and Bârmall,' used frequently to visit a temple at Cambay, where an iron elephant was suspended in the air by a magnet. Yakub removed the magnet, and was also victorious in a

Rânee, the consort of Veer Singh Wâghela, the then Lord of Kulol, constructed, at an expense of 'five lakhs of tunkhas,' the magnificent well which still exists at the village of Udâlej. Veer Singh and his brother Ujetra Singh were at war with the Mohummedans, who slew the elder brother, and placed a garrison in his patrimonial town. Kulol was, however, held for several generations after by Veer Singh's descendants, until it was at length lost, in A. D. 1728, by Bhugut Singh. That chief retired to Lembodurâ, a village which he took from the Ânjunâ Koonbees, and which is still held by his descendants, who claims, and apparently with reason, the honor of being the chief of the Wâghelas.

Two or three generations after the death of Rânik Dev, the younger son of Ânund Dev, the estate of Roopâl was subdivided between the sons of Sâmunt Singh, the then chieftain; the eldest, Wuje Kurunjee, retained Roopâl, but a mansion was built at Kolwurâ for the younger son, Someshwur, who received fourteen of his father's villages. Wuje Kurunjee appears to have lost Roopâl, for his eldest son, Bheemjee, retired into the Eedur country, where he founded the families of Poseenâ and Hurâd, vassals of the Rows of Eedur, while Wunojee, the younger son, settled at Âloowâ, on the banks of the Sâbhermutee, at which place his descendants still remain.

Someshwur's grandson, Chândojee, still held Kolwurâ. He had a son, Heemâlojee, whose mother's brother, Pethoo Gol, possessed the estate of Sokhuroo, near the Sâbhermutee river. Pethoo Gol was afflicted with an incurable disease, and as he had no offspring, he looked with an eye of apprehension on Heemâlojee; it being no uncommon thing, in those times, says

contest with the Brahmins. 'Sadras and his court, won by such a succession of miracles, embraced the religion of their author.' Their example was soon followed by many others. The sect kept up an intercourse with Arabia and assumed the name of Vyuvuhârees, or Borahs.

There seems to be a strange jumble of real names and events in this story. 'Sadras Singh' may well be *Sudderâ Jesingh*, the name by which Sidh Râj is popularly known in Goozerat, but the two dewans, Târmall and Bârmall, must be the brothers, Tej Pâl and Wustoo Pâl, the ministers of Veerdhuwul Wâghela. Again, the story of the king's conversion would apply better to Koomâr Pâl, or Ujye Pâl, of whom such tales are elsewhere related.

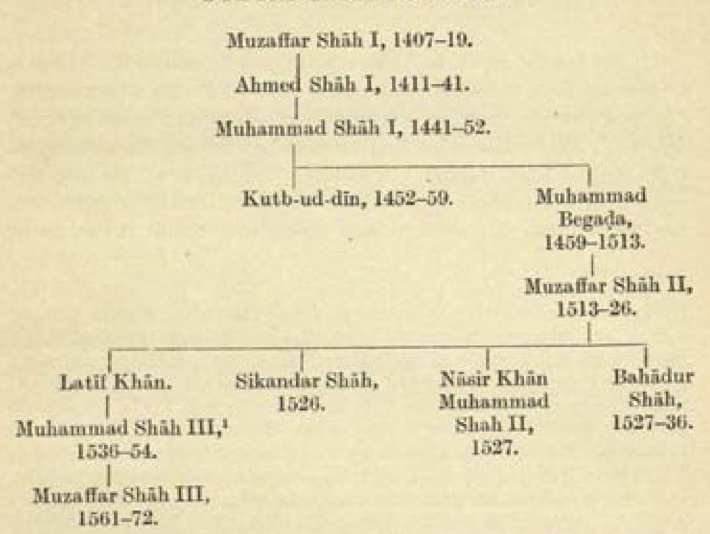
the bard, for nephews to put their uncles to death for their grâs. Pethoo's fears were not without foundation, but the precautions taken by him prevented any open attack by his nephew. At length, however, Heemâlojee, pretending a pilgrimage to Sokhureeâ Muhâ Dev, entered Sokhuroo with a band of Rajpoots concealed in the closed carriages used for the conveyance of women. These warriors made their way into the mansion of the chief, whom they put to death. 'Sut' having then come upon the Rânee, she cursed Heemâlojee, and prophesied that the children of even his daughters should meet an untimely death. The Thâkor implored her forgiveness, and said, 'Mother! you have no child; I am your son; 'what has happened has happened; be kind to me, and 'I will obey any order you may give.' The Sutee commanded him to found a new village in the name of his uncle, and promised that his descendants, in the male line, should maintain themselves there, but declared, that as her word could not be altered, the daughters of his race should be childless. Such was the origin of Pethâpoor, a handsome town on the Sâbhermutee river, a few miles to the north of Ahmedabad, distinguished to the present time by its manufacture of matchlocks, and by the valor and fidelity of its mercenary bands. The curse of the Sutee has, however, been accomplished, and the daughters of the Lords of Pethâpoor, it is said, have never reared a child.

The Sânund branch of the family has been more fortunate than that of Kulol, and still retains its possessions, subdivided into the two principal estates of Sânund (called also of Kot) and Gângur.[1]

[1] There is much confusion, which it is now impossible to remedy, in the bardic account of the Wâghelas. One authority makes the first holders of Kulol and Sânund to be sons of Kurun Wâghela, and even mentions the names of their mothers. The account is as follows:—'Kurun's sons, 'Sârung and Wurshung, were born at the same time, and were, therefore, 'both "Pâtuwees." Sârung's mother was Tâj Koonwureejee, daughter 'of Gujsunghjee Bhâtee of Jesulmer; Wurshung's mother was Umur 'Koonwerbâ, daughter of Desuljee Jhâreja of Kerookot. Wurshung had 'Surdhâr assigned to him in the life-time of his father, with six hundred 'and fifty villages. Sârung received, in like manner, Bheeluree, with six 'hundred and fifty villages. Meeting at Bheeluree, the brothers took 'Kuree from the Mohummedans, but continued the Begum on the throne,

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

SULTANS OF GUJARĀT



'and went to meet the padishah at Puttun without taking any security. 'The padishah was pleased, and gave them five hundred villages. Sârung 'Dev took Kulol, with two hundred and fifty villages, and Wurshung took 'Sânund, with the like number.' The inscription on the well at Udâlej gives the following pedigree:—1. Mokul Singh; 2. Kurun; 3. Mool Raja; 4. Mahip, whose sons were Veer Singh and Ujetra Singh, the former Roodâ Rânee's husband. These two brothers are doubtless the Wurho and Jeto of the bards, to whom a family tradition has been assigned. Another inscription is to be found in a well at Mânsâ. It gives the following pedigree:—1. Mool Râj; 2. Vijye Anund; 3. Velo; 4. Dhuwul; 5. Wânkâ; 6. Chumpuk, who married Chumpâ Devee, daughter of Loonkâ, the son of Sârung Devjee, and had by her a son Dhârâ, the person who constructed the well, A. D. 1526. This branch of the Wâghela family was seated at Ogânej, near Kulol.

[1] [Succeeded 1554–61 by Āhmad Shāh II, an outsider.]

CHAPTER IV

AHMED SHAH I.—MOHUMMED SHAH I.—KOOTB SHAH

In the year A. D. 1418, Ahmed Shah was drawn to the defence of the districts of Sultânpoor and Nundoorbâr, then threatened by the ruler of Asseer, in conjunction with Sultan Hooshung, of Malwa.[1] When the rains had already set in, the shah received intelligence that during his absence the Row of Eedur, the Râwul of Châmpâner,[2] the chiefs of Mundulgurh and Nadot, had combined to invite Sultan Hooshung to an invasion of

[1] [In A. D. 1401, a Pathān called Dilāwar Khān Ghori seized the fort of Māndu, now in Dhār, a state of Central India. Under his son Alp Khān who took the title of Sultān Hoshang (1405–31), Māndu became one of the strongest fortresses in India, and to-day its magnificent ruins excite the wonder of the visitor. Hoshang in 1415 stirred up a powerful conspiracy among the nobles and rājas of Gujarāt. Ahmed Shāh three times invested the fort, but never took it. The dynasty of Hoshang, sometimes known as that of the 'Mālwa Sultāns,' lasted until 1531, when Mālwa was annexed by the kingdom of Gujarāt. Humāyūn, Pādshāh of Delhi, effected a temporary conquest of the country in 1535, but was expelled in the year following. An officer of Sher Shāh named Shujā'at Khān, ruled the kingdom until 1554, when he was succeeded by his son Bāyazīd, or Bāz Bahādur, who was styled king. He was dethroned by Akbar in 1561, but recovered the provinces and did not submit finally until 1570–1, when he entered the imperial service. The loves of Bāz Bahādur and his favourite concubine Rūpmatī form the subject of many romances and paintings. She poisoned herself to escape the embraces of Akbar's general, Adham Khān. Her lover was buried by her side on an island in a lake at Ujjain.]

[2] [Chāmpāner is a ruined city in the Pāñch Mahāls District, Bombay, about 25 miles north-east of Baroda. The adjoining fortress of Pāvāgarh which was taken in about A. D. 1300 by Chohān Rājputs who had fled from Alā-ud-dīn Khilji, became a famous stronghold. It resisted attacks by Ahmad Shāh (1418) and Muhammad Shāh (1449), but was taken by Muhammad Begaḍa in the reign of the Rāwal Jaysingh (1484). The story of the sack of the town forms a graphic episode (*vide* pp. 370–80, *supra*). In the time of the Gujarāt Sultans (1484–1536) Chāmpāner became the capital of Gujarāt and quite overshadowed Ahmedabad, but under the Mughal Viceroys it sank into insignificance and is now a vast ruin.]

Goozerat, and that the Râ of Soreth, having heard of the projected invasion, had refused to pay his tribute. Ahmed Shah immediately crossed the Nerbudda, notwithstanding the unfavorable season, and encamped his army on the banks of the Myhee, from whence he himself, with a light force, rapidly advanced to Ahmedabad, and thence to Morâsâ. Troops were detached against the Râ of Soreth, the Raja of Mundulgurh, and others of the confederates ; and the shah himself, when the season opened, advanced from Morâsâ into Malwa, where he defeated Hooshung, and pursued him to within a few miles of Mândoo. In the following year a peace was concluded between the Kings of Goozerat and Malwa, and the former seized the opportunity of revenging himself upon his nearer neighbours. He occupied Eedur, and he invested Châmpâner, and compelled the Râwul to consent to an annual tribute. He next 'returned to settle the boundaries of his own country, dispersed the refactory, and, destroying the Hindoo temples, 'built mosques in their place. Having also founded forts in 'such places, he left garrisons in them, among which may be 'mentioned the fort at the town of Jinoor, in the Pergunnah 'of Bareah, and that of Shivpoor. After this he established 'the market town of Dahmod, among the mountains, where he 'erected a fortification. After this the fort of Karich (Kaira 'or Kuree ?) built in A. D. 1304, by order of Alp Khân, who 'governed the country for Allah-ood-deen Khiljy, was repaired, and named Sultanabad.'

Ahmed Shah was subsequently engaged in a war, of some duration, with Malwa, in which he was, on the whole, successful, though his troops suffered so much during the campaign as to oblige him to abstain from any foreign attacks for some years. In A. D. 1426, he marched 'to retake Eedur,' but being apparently convinced of his inability to hold that capital, the citadel of which, it is probable, had never been surrendered to him, he, on this occasion, with the view of more fully overawing the country of the Rows, commenced the construction of a large and handsome fortress on the banks of the Hâtmutee river, and within sight of the mountain-peaks that rise above Eedur-gurh, to which he gave the name of Ahmednugger. Tradition states that he also founded the fort of Sâdrâ, situated

about half-way between Ahmednugger and his capital, in a strong position, on the banks of the Sâbhermutee, defended by deep ravines. Row Poonjâ, the then chief of Eedur, however, obstructed the shah's operations by night attacks on Ahmednugger, and by marauding expeditions into the country held by the Mohummedans. A reward was therefore set upon his head. On one occasion, when he had attacked Ahmednugger, the Row was repulsed, and pursued by the Moslem cavalry. He gallopped towards Eedur, but, as he passed at a rapid pace along a path at the edge of a ravine, his horse shied with him, and fell into the chasm below. The Row falling below the animal was killed. Next day, a woodcutter, who discovered the corpse lying in the ravine, having heard the proclamation of a reward, cut off Row Poonjâ's head, and brought it to the audience tent of the sultan. Ahmed Shah now sent a detachment to lay waste the country of Beesulnugger, in the hills about which Row Poonjâ had been wont to take refuge.

Row Poonjâ was succeeded by his son, Nârondâs, who, as Ferishta states, agreed to pay an annual tribute of three lakhs of tunkhas of silver into the treasury of Goozerat. From Eedur the king marched into the district of Gudwârâ, and next year, A. D. 1428, his pacification with Row Nârondâs having already been broken, 'he marched again to Eedur, and on the 14th 'of November carried by storm one of the principal forts in 'that province, wherein he built a magnificent mosque.'

A contest now ensued with the Bahmuny sovereign of the Dekkan, in which his usual success attended the arms of Ahmed Shah. An interesting fact is here disclosed—the possession by the sovereigns of Goozerat of Salsette and of the islands of Mahim and Moombâ Devee, which, in their united form, constitute the present island of Bombay. Mahim was then held by a tributary Hindoo prince, with the title of Râee, who afterwards gave a daughter to the harem of the son of Shah Ahmed. There is no record of the separate conquest of this territory by the Mohummedans, nor does it appear that either the viceroys or the sultans of Goozerat were ever sufficiently unemployed up to this time, or possessed of sufficient resources to have enabled them to undertake an

extension of their dominions into this detached and distant quarter. We have seen, however, that the sovereigns of Unhilwârâ pushed their armies deep into the Dekkan; that they not only held possession of the northern part of Candeish, in which Kurun Wâghela long maintained himself after Goozerat had been overrun; but that they also occupied the Konkun, and threatened the kingdom of Kollâpoor. We may therefore conclude that Bombay and the northern Konkun fell into the possession of the Mohummedans on the extinction of the Wâghela dynasty as part of the recognised territories of the lords of Unhilwârâ,—a fact which, taken in connection with the glimpses we possess of their naval supremacy, is calculated to add no little interest to the illustrious line of Sidh Râj.

Kootb Khân, the governor of Mahim on the part of Ahmed Shah, dying, the Bahmuny sultan, seizing the favorable opportunity, occupied that island without loss, and also took possession of Tannah, in Salsette. Ahmed Shah immediately assembled a fleet of seventeen sail at Diu, Gogo, and Cambay, which, in co-operation with an army advancing along the northern Konkun, attacked and recovered Tannah. The Bahmuny general retreated to Mahim, and on the face of that island, which was exposed, constructed a very strong wattled breast-work. This stockade was carried, not without considerable loss, by the troops of Ahmed Shah, who now found themselves opposed to the whole of the Dekkan line. A bloody and indecisive action ensued, which was terminated at nightfall; but while darkness lasted, the Dekkan general abandoned his position, and retreated to the contiguous island of Moombâ Devee. The Goozerat fleet blockaded the island, and effected a landing upon it for the troops, and the general of the Bahmuny shah was compelled to fly to the continent. After another action, fought under the walls of Tannah, the Dekkany troops were ultimately defeated and dispersed, and the fleet of Goozerat returned home, carrying with it 'some beautiful 'gold and silver embroidered muslins,' taken on the island of Mahim.

The Bahmuny sovereign, in A. D. 1431, sought to revenge his defeat by an irruption into the Goozerat provinces of

Candeish; but he was encountered by Ahmed Shah in person, and met with his former ill-success.

Next year Ahmed Shah marched into Rajpootana, exacted tribute from the Râwul of Doongurpoor, proceeded through the Bheel country into the territories of Rânâ Mokuljee of Mewar, and levied contributions from the Rows of Kotah, Boondee, and Nudoolaye. The close of his reign was occupied by an unsuccessful attempt to preserve the throne of Malwa to the descendants of his ancient enemy, Sultan Hooshung. He died at Ahmedabad on the 4th of July, A. D. 1443, and was buried there in a sumptuous tomb in front of the Friday mosque.

Mohummed Shah, the son and successor of Ahmed, in the year of his succession led an army against the Row of Eedur, who, for a time, took to the hills; but 'having soon after sent 'ambassadors to ask pardon for his faults,' was accordingly forgiven, and gave his daughter in marriage to the sultan. Mohummed Shah continued his advance into Bhâgur, and after exacting tribute returned to Ahmedabad. In A. D. 1449, he marched against Râwul Gungâdâs of Châmpâner, and, defeating him, drove him to take refuge within his fortress. The Râwul, however, prevailed upon the Khiljy sovereign of Malwa to march to his assistance, and Mohummed Shah made a disgraceful retreat before this new enemy.

Sultan Mahmood of Malwa now threatened the subjugation of Goozerat; Mohummed Shah died or was poisoned, and his son, Kootb Shah, succeeding, found the invader between the villages of Sirkhej and Butwa, within a few miles of his capital. An action was fought, and the Sultan of Malwa, though nearly successful, was compelled at last to retire. A peace was concluded between the two sovereigns, who bound themselves by a special article to wage henceforth perpetual war against Hindoos, an engagement afterwards partially redeemed by an offensive alliance against Rânâ Koombho of Mewar.

Koombho Rânâ was one of the best of the many energetic princes who successively ruled Mewar, and to him is attributed that augmentation of her resources which enabled her to make so gallant a stand against the Mohummedan power under Sung, his heroic grandson. To Koombho Rânâ are attributed

thirty two of the eighty-four fortresses erected for the defence of Mewar. The greatest of these was Koombhomer, or Komulmer, whose natural position, aided by the works which he constructed, rendered it impregnable to a native army. He also erected a citadel within the ancient fortress of the Purmârs at Aboogurh, in which he often resided. Its magazine and alarm tower still bear Koombho's name; and, in a rude temple, his effigy, in brass, still receives divine honours. Koombho Rânâ also fortified the passes between the western frontier and Aboo; he erected the fort of Wusuntee, near Seerohee; a second at Koombhâreea, beside the shrine of Umbâjee; and others which protected his territories against the Mairs of the Ârâwullee, or the Bheels of Jhârol and Pânowrâ. The temple of Koombho Shâm, on Mount Aboo, is another monument of the Seesodeea prince, who contributed largely also towards the erection of the celebrated shrine of Rishub Dev, which occupies the Sâdree pass, 'a deserted glen running into 'the western slope of the Ârâwullee, below his favorite fort 'of Komulmer.'[1] He was himself a poet, and the husband of a poetess, the celebrated Râthor princess, Meerâ Bâee.

Kootb Shah was called upon for assistance against the Rânâ of Mewar by his relation, Shums Khân, the descendant of a brother of Moozuffer Shah, then possessing Nâgor. The first expedition in which the shah was not himself personally engaged was eminently unsuccessful, the troops of Goozerat being completely defeated by the Rânâ. Kootb Shah, hearing of this disaster, advanced in person: he defeated the Rajpoots of Seerohee, at this time vassals of Mewar, entered the hills, and made his way to Komulmer. In this position he was attacked

[1] There is an inscription on this temple which furnishes a pedigree of Koombho Rânâ, or, as he is there called, Rânâ Shree Koombh Kurn, from Shree Bupya or Bâppâ, for an account of whose origin see p. 292. In this inscription (which is dated A. D. 1440), among other epithets applied to Koombho Rânâ, are the following: he was 'The eagle which destroyed 'the crowd of snake-like barbarian princes, the forest conflagration 'which burned the jungle of injustice, the Sultan of the Hindoos.' The temple stands at a village called Rânpoor, about five miles from the town of Sâdree, or Sâduree, in Marwar. For a description of it, with illustrations, see Fergusson's *Illustrated Hand Book of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 79 and the same author's *Illustrations of Indian Architecture*.

by the Rânâ, who, being unsuccessful in several engagements, at length sued for peace.

Sultan Mahmood, of Malwa, now proposed to Kootb Shah the partition between the two Mohummedan powers of the whole territories of Rânâ Koombho, and a treaty to this effect was solemnly signed by their respective envoys, at the town of Châmpâner. Next year Kootb Shah marched towards Cheetor, carried the fortress of Aboogurh, in which he left a garrison, again reached Seerohee, and entered the hills, where, after two successful general actions, he, a second time, compelled the Rânâ to submission. In the following year, A. D. 1458, Rânâ Koombho was, however, again in arms with the view of reducing Nâgor. Kootb Shah, after a long delay, marched against him, and continued his victorious progress, until it was once more arrested by the impregnable fortress of Komulmer. He returned to Ahmedabad, where he shortly afterwards died, and was buried by the side of Mohummed Shah, his father, in the mausoleum of Sultan Ahmed.

CHAPTER V

MAHMOOD BEGURRA

Kootb Shah was succeeded by his uncle, Dâwood, who proved wholly incapable, and reigned only a few days, and then by his younger brother, Mahmood, surnamed Begurra, the greatest of the Mohummedan sovereigns of Goozerat. Though fourteen years of age at his accession, he speedily evinced the courage and ability which distinguished his future career. Having displayed a determination to protect against his enemies a faithful minister, whose destruction would have been but the prelude to his own, the young sultan was assailed in his palace by a body of thirty thousand rebels. His friends thought only of shutting themselves up in the citadel, or of escaping with the royal treasures, but Mahmood was of a different temper. The gates of the citadel were thrown open, and the boy king gallantly sallied forth, with quiver at his back and bow in his hand, and proceeding through the main street, in slow procession, in the midst of his enemies, the royal music sounding before him, gave his faithful nobles an opportunity of rallying round his standard. The commanding points were, under his personal direction, quietly and skilfully seized, and the rebellion was at once rendered hopeless.

Three years after this brilliant commencement of his reign, Mahmood assumed in person the command of an army, with which, marching into the north of Candeish, he saved the Bahmuny Shah of the Dekkan, from the Sultan of Malwa.

In A. D. 1468, the holy prophet, Mahomet, having appeared to him in a dream, and invited him to the conquest of infidels, by spreading before him, in a vision, a magnificent banquet of the most delicious viands, Mahmood Shah prepared to achieve the conquest of Soreth, which Mohummed Toghluk, and his own great ancestor, Ahmed, had attempted in vain. The most magnificent preparations were made for this

expedition, the treasure chest contained fifty millions of gold, the commissariat was supplied with eighteen hundred gilded-handled swords, the manufacture of Egypt, Arabia, and Khorasân, with three thousand eight hundred of the celebrated blades of Ahmedabad, and daggers in similar profusion, mounted with gold and silver; the master of the horse led with him two thousand steeds of Arabia and Toorkistan, and lest these rewards should be insufficient to recompense the warriors who attended him, Mahmood promised also the plunder of Soreth as the prize of their victorious valor.

On arriving within eighty miles of Girnâr, Mahmood detached a force of seventeen hundred men, under his uncle, Toghluk Khân, to occupy two outworks called Mohabilla, before his arrival. The Rajpoots, who were intrusted with the post, were surprised and cut off, but the Râ of Soreth, hearing of the event, descended from his hill-fortress, and attacking Toghluk Khân, was upon the point of repulsing him, when the arrival of Mahmood Shah, in person, changed the fortune of the day, and the Râ retreated, himself severely wounded. Mahmood cleared the country in the neighbourhood; sent out forage parties, who procured abundant provisions for his camp, and prepared for a siege, but the difficulties were probably greater than he had anticipated, and the Râ was allowed to purchase a cessation of hostilities by present submission, and by the payment of a large amount in jewels and in specie.

Mahmood, however, only required a pretext for attacking Girnâr a second time, and, next year, discovered one in the fact that 'the Row Munduleek visited the temples of idolatry, 'and went there with all the ensigns of royalty.' An army of forty thousand horse marched to Girnâr to punish this presumption; and the Râ, who was neither able nor willing to oppose the Mohummedan arms, paid the tribute which was demanded of him, and surrendered his royal umbrella, and other kingly ensigns to the sultan. These concessions, however, were unavailing. The Râ of Soreth might have exclaimed with his predecessor in misfortune, the gallant Prutheerâj Chohân,—'like a fly scared away, again and again the enemy 'returns.' In the latter end of the same year Mahmood again

marched in person to Soreth. The Râ declared his willingness to pay any sum of money he could produce, to protect his subjects from the horrors of war; but Mahmood replied, that 'there was no greater fault than infidelity, and that if he was 'to expect tranquillity, he must acknowledge the unity 'of God.' The Râ made no answer; but shut himself up in the fort of Joonagurh, to which Mahmood laid siege. Finding his position untenable, the Râ, leaving Joonagurh, retired to the upper fortress, on Girnâr; but his garrison was starved into submission, and seeing no end to his misfortunes, he quitted the fort, delivered the keys to the sultan, and repeated the confession of faith in imitation of the conqueror. His conversion is, however, by the author of the Meerât Sekunderee, made subsequent to his fall, and owing to the example of the saint rather than of the sovereign. 'The Munduleek Raja,' says that author, 'being taken 'prisoner, was sent to Ahmedabad. One day perceiving a 'grand procession going towards the residence of the holy 'Shah Alum, at Russoolabad, the Râee enquired who Shah 'Alum was, and in whose service. He was told that this holy 'person acknowledged no master but the supreme Being. 'Struck with admiration at the reply, he resolved to visit 'him, and was afterwards persuaded by him to become a 'proselyte to the faith.' The last of the Râs of Soreth was *dignified* by the title of 'Khân Jehân,' or 'lord of the universe,' by the Mohummedans, and, under the guise of a saint of Islâm, is, to the present day, at his tomb in the city of Ahmedabad, worshipped (like many other saints) by the descendants of those who had unremittingly persecuted him throughout his life.

Mahmood Shah, having effected this much desired conquest, called together the Syuds and learned men of every quarter in order to settle them in Soreth. He caused also a city to be built, which, in a little time, almost equalled the capital, and was called Moostufabad. While superintending the building of this new city, the sultan heard that the inhabitants of Kutch had made inroads upon Goozerat. In the year A. D. 1472, he therefore proceeded against them, and compelled their submission, and soon afterwards marched against the Jutts and

Beloochees of Sindh, on which occasion he penetrated as far as the Indus.

The following bardic relations belong to the times at which we have now arrived :—

Gohil Bheemjee, the descendant of Sârungjee, possessed Lâtee and Urteelâ. He had three sons, and a daughter who was married to the Râ of Soreth, and, on account of this connection, the family usually lived at Joonagurh. When the army of the Mohummedans, breaking down the Hindoo temples as they advanced, came near Lâtee, Humeerjee, the youngest son of Bheemjee Gohil, was the only male of the family who was at home. The bad news having arrived, Humeer said to his brother's wife, 'The Mohummedan army is coming on 'with the intention of destroying Somnâth; but if there 'were any seed of the Kshutrees left, the Mlech would not be 'able to destroy the Hindoo temples.' His sister-in-law replied, 'If there be no other seed of the Kshutrees, there is 'one seed at least—yourself.' When he heard these words, Humeer's blood boiled within him. He said not a word; but off he went, taking two hundred followers with him, to a hill called Surod, a few miles west of Seehore, where his friend, Veguro, the Bheel, lived. Humeer told his story to Veguro; but the Bheel said, 'None of the great rajas are setting forth 'to the battle; why should you go? This Mohummedan 'army is very powerful; you cannot hope alone to drive it 'back.' Humeer said, 'I am going against them that I may 'die in the fight; but I am troubled much about this one 'thing—that I am still unmarried.'[1] Upon this, Veguro Bheel, with the consent of his wife, married one of his daughters who had attained the age of puberty, to Humeer Gohil. Humeer stayed there one night, and left his wife pregnant. Descendants of theirs are still to be met with at Nâgher, in the Diu district, bearing the name of Gohil Koolees.

Veguro Bheel collected three hundred bowmen, and, joining Humeer and his two hundred Rajpoots, hastened to the defence of Somnâth. When the battle was at its hottest, Humeer

[1] The Shâstras have laid it down that

The son-less obtains not liberation;
Paradise is not for him—not for him.

cried to Veguro, who fought outside, to come in by a postern door, but the Bheel replied, 'I am the Veguro (the long-'horned bull), why should I enter the postern?' So they fought on, each in his own fashion, until Veguro fell—

Vegud the great fighter,
Within the fort's postern entered not,
But, tossing aloft his horns,
Against the sky he struck them.

Humeer, too, was slain very soon after in the same battle;—

Come quickly, brother!
To the aid of Somaiyo:
Drive them as the wind drives the waves,
At the point of the spear.
O son of Bheem!

To Shiv-Puttun advanced the flood
Of rattling weapons.
Among them sported the Soor,
Like an untamed bison,
Did the son of Bheem!

Like a wave, O Veer!
Advancing, you turned not back,
Against the cliffs, you dashed,
Of the army,
O son of Bheem!

Sieve-like though became
The form of your body,
Your steps still, as befitted your race,
Kept advancing.
Son of Bheem.

A forest of thorns, O Veer!
They who survived beheld,
For the eye-protecting lid—Humeer
Was first destroyed,
Was the son of Bheem.[1]

[1] 'Many powerful Mahometan chiefs followed the example of Mahmood '(of Ghuznee). Sultan Mahmood Begurra, of Ahmedabad, is stated as the 'last who sent an army against this place. On this occasion, the Gohil 'chief of Latee, opposed the sultan, but without effect. He was killed, 'and Mahmood succeeded in reducing it, when he built a mosque on 'the spot where the temple had formerly stood. Another temple was 'ately built by Ahilya Baee, a wife of one of the Holkars, in which

Châmpâ, the son of Ebhul Wâlo, Lord of Jetpoor, near Joonagurh, died in the same battle, leaving a name at which the Mohummedans long afterwards trembled :—

O ! padishah, rest not secure,
That that flower has departed ;
The Chumpā[1] from the basket,
May start once more,
May the son of Ebhul.

In the time of Mahmood Begurra, says another bard, Rânpoor was held by a Gohil chieftain, named Rânjee, who resided in a fort situated at the confluence of the Gomâ and Bhâdur rivers, upon the spot where stands the present edifice, subsequently erected by Azim Khân Oodâee.[2] Rânjee Gohil and

'another symbol of Muhâ Dev has been placed.'—*Colonel Walker's Reports.*

[Two other verses are quoted in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. viii, Kāthiāwār, p. 451 :

Ghoḍa ghana dhrodia,
Sajo saj sharir ;
Meherāno male nahi,
Hāle agavo Hamir.

Kankar pathar pad rahe
Vahi gayo sab nir ;
Mere tere milanku
Ho rahi, Hamir !

The horses galloped fast,
Adorn and arm your body !
When the Mehar Rāno could no longer be found,
Then Hamir advanced forward.

The stones and pebbles remain,
But the water hath all flowed away ;
My meetings and thine
Are ended for ever, O Hamir !]

[1] A play upon the words Chumpâ and Châmpâ, the former being the name of a flower tree (*Michelia Champaca*).

[2] Azim Khân Ghâzee was an officer of the later Mohummedan governments. In addition to the handsome fort of Rânpoor, he erected (in A. D. 1630) a building intended for a college, at Ahmedabad (which has since been degraded to the condition of a jail) ; and other edifices so numerous as to have given rise to his popular surname of 'Oodâee,' or 'the white-ant,' in allusion to the constructive habits of that insect which is said never to move without building a house over its head.

the padishah had, it is said, married sisters, daughters of a raja of Marwar. The queen of the padishah, being once at her father's house on a visit, met there Rânjee's Thâkorine,[1] whom she invited to dine with her. The Gohil's wife excused herself saying, 'You have married the padishah, and my husband 'is called his servant, therefore I am not worthy to sit at 'dinner with you.' This, and many other excuses, she offered; but the elder sister, pressing with great urgency, she entreated her forbearance, and then confessed her real reason—that the queen, having married a Mohummedan, she should lose caste by eating with her. The queen, however, was very angry, and determined that she would, by whatever means, have her sister brought to Ahmedabad, and there cause her to dine with her.

After her return to the capital, Rânjee Gohil, being then present upon duty, the queen related the story to her husband, and begged him that he would send for her sister in any way that would secure her attendance. At this time Rânjee's groom of the chamber, having fallen into disgrace with his master, had been dismissed. The queen took him into her service, and instructed him to go for the Thâkorine. The Thâkor's servant said, that without a letter from Rânjee the lady would refuse to come. Upon this, the padishah one day asked Rânjee for his sword to look at, another day for his dagger, and again for his armlet. These he gave to the servant and sent him off. The servant went to Rânpoor, and said to the Thâkorine, 'I 'am your groom of the chamber as you are aware; Rânjee[2] 'has sent me to summon you, and has given me these three 'articles as tokens. If you disobey Rânjee he will abandon 'you. You should, therefore, join him speedily.' The Thâkorine, hearing these words, ordered her chariot to be prepared, and set off with the servant. When they reached the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad, some of Rânjee's people met them, and recognizing the carriage, went up to it. The discharged servant then took to flight. Rânjee's followers conveyed

[1] The usual title of a chieftain's wife in Goozerat is 'Thukurâloo,' or 'Thukurânee,' but, as that employed in the text, is also used, we have preferred it as being more agreeable to European ears.

[2] [See p. 303, *note*.]

the lady to his lodging, and when he enquired the cause of her coming, she said that it was at his order, and produced the tokens she had received. Then Rânjee knew that there had been treachery.

Soon after the padishah sent to say, 'Let your Thâkorine 'come hither to pay a visit, if you refuse I will bring her by 'force.' The Gohil refused, and a fight thereupon ensued; but Rânjee soon found resistance was hopeless, and, therefore, had recourse to stratagem, and, with the aid of a Chârun's daughter, who remained to personate the Thâkorine, he brought her off in safety.

This Chârun's daughter was no common woman, but was, in truth, a Shuktee. She was the daughter of Doodo, of Oometâ, and Rânjee had become acquainted with her powers when on an expedition to collect tribute in that part of the country. A storm of wind and rain coming on, he was separated from his horsemen, and wandered alone to Oometâ, and being very much afflicted with thirst when he arrived there, he called to a girl who stood near for some water. She extended her arm from where she stood until she reached him as he sat on his horse, and thus handed him the cup. Rânjee, beholding this prodigy, dismounted from his horse, and, performing circumambulation, prostrated himself before her. Râj Bâee, for such was her name, upon this, said to him, 'Ask a boon!' He answered, 'That I may call upon you for aid whenever a time of cala-'mity occurs.' She consented, and when Rânjee found himself in such straits at Ahmedabad, he bethought himself of her as has been related. On his return to Rânpoor, Rânjee prepared a place for Râj Bâee in his fort, and installed an image of her there as his Kool Devee, or family goddess.

After these things an old Mohummedan woman, with her son, lodged one night at Rânpoor, on their way to Mecca on pilgrimage. The boy rose early in the morning and began, as was his custom, to cry the 'bâng,' or call to prayers. Some Brahmins, hearing it, went to the Gohil and said, 'This bar-'barian's crying the "bâng" at such a time, portends that the 'sovereignty of this town will pass to the barbarians.' The Gohil was enraged at the idea, and seizing the old woman and her son, asked them how they presumed to cry the 'bâng' at

his gate. The woman entreated pardon, and protested that no harm was meant, but Rânjee was not satisfied, and he slew the boy with his sword. In revenge the old pilgrim retraced her steps to Ahmedabad, and laid her complaint before the padishah. Mahmood Begurra mentioned what had happened to all his Umeers, but they received the news very coolly, and no one thought proper to set out to fight with the Gohil. At length the padishah's own sister's son, Bhunderee Khân, notwithstanding that his nuptials had only that day been celebrated, determined to go forth against Rânpoor. The padishah and his officers spoke to him to dissuade him, but he said that he would certainly strike a blow for Allah. He advanced with an army as far as Dhundhooka, where he was met by Rânjee Gohil, and a desperate conflict ensued. The fight lasted for a long time, and Rânjee was driven continually backwards until he reached the gate of Rânpoor. He sent to his Thâkorines to order that when they beheld his royal umbrella go down they should destroy themselves to avoid being captured by the Mohummedans. As the fight went on, the bearer of the umbrella set it down for a moment to drink water. The ladies thought their husband had fallen, and at once precipitated themselves into the well of the fort, and perished. Rânjee continued the battle after this catastrophe, but fell at last at the gate of Rânpoor, and the Mohummedans entered the fort, not, however, without the loss of their brave young leader, Bhunderee Khân. Mahmood Begurra afterwards presented Rânpoor to Hâloojee Purmâr, of Moolee, who was the son of the sister of Rânjee.

The story of Hâloojee is as follows :—A chief of the Jutts, who at that time lived in Sindh, had a very beautiful daughter, named Soomuree Bâee, whom the Sindh padishah attempted to take by force into his harem. The Jutts, therefore, fled from Sindh about seventeen hundred in number, and came to Moolee, then held by two brothers of the Shodâ Purmâr blood, named Lugdheerjee and Hâloojee. The Jutts said that the padishah would certainly pursue them from Sindh, and that if the Purmârs could protect them they would remain, otherwise they would go on further. The Purmârs swore they would not allow them to be injured as long as their

own heads stood on their shoulders. So the Jutts remained at Moolee.

The Sindh padishah's army soon arrived, and as it was very powerful, the Purmârs considered that having no fortress they would find difficulty in holding their ground. They retreated, therefore, to a hill named Mânduv, thirty miles to the west of Moolee, and strengthened themselves in the jungle there. The padishah's army followed them, and the fight went on for a length of time, until at last a link-bearer of the Purmârs treacherously went over to the enemy, and pointed out to them the single well which supplied the Purmârs with water. The Mohummedans cut off a cow's head and cast it into the well. The Purmârs were now forced to come to terms, and Lugdheerjee, the elder brother, gave Hâloojee as a hostage instead of the Jutt's daughter, whom he told to make her escape. She fled, and buried herself alive at Wunod, where her tomb may still be seen.

Lugdheerjee, going to Ahmedabad, procured the aid of the King of Goozerat, whereupon an army advanced from Ahmedabad. A battle was fought in the Bhooj country, when the Sindhis were defeated, and Hâloojee released, and carried to the capital.

Hâloojee Purmâr became a convert to Islâm, upon which Mahmood Begurra offered him lands in several districts. He refused them, however, saying that his family would wonder what had become of him, and begged for the wasted town of Rânpoor, which had belonged to his uncle, Rânjee Gohil, and had been ploughed and sown with salt by the padishah. This being given to him, Hâloojee begged for a grant on copper plate, but the padishah said that the fact of his conversion was not likely to be forgotten, and that no grant was required.

Lugdheerjee Purmâr retained his religion and the Moolee estate acquired by his ancestors. The following story explains how he met his death :—

The Chief of Sânund had given the village of Rânecsur, as rent-free land (pusâeetâ) to a Chârun, from whom descended Ruleeo Guduvee, who was celebrated for his wit and sarcasm. At this time there was much plundering in the country, but no one molested the Chârun's village, on which account people of

the surrounding villages placed their property there for protection. Being aware of this, a Mohummedan leader, named Boree Mogul, came to plunder Râneesur. After sacking the village, the assailants bound Ruleeo Guduvee with his children and family, and other people of the village, and carried them off. The first night they halted, Ruleeo, at midnight, began to howl and weep. The Mohummedans asked why he wept: he said it was for a great cause of mourning, with which he would acquaint none but their commander. Boree Mogul's servants told him of this, and he came up in person. Then the Guduvee told him he would give any sum that might be demanded for the ransom of himself and family. The Mogul asked where he could have any money left to him now. He said he had discovered a note in a locket in which was described a place where his father had buried a hoard. The Mogul sent five hundred men with him, ordering that he should be released on giving up a lakh of money. After two or three marches they arrived at the edge of the Runn at Teekur, near Hulwud. The Guduvee then said that his property was buried in an island to which he pointed, and proposed that the party should gallop over the intervening level ground, and reach their destination at once. He set his pony in motion, and the heavy horsemen followed him at a gallop, but he led them into a quagmire, and when they were fairly entangled he got clear away, and ran off to Wudwân. He represented to the raja that he was the Rajpoots' Chârun, and persuaded him to recover his family from the Mogul. The Wudwân Raja bade him seek further assistance from the Shodâs of Moolee, and said that he would in the meantime march against the Mohummedans, which he did. Ruleeo went to Moolee, and told his story, and Lugdheerjee immediately set off in pursuit with five hundred Purmârs. There is a tank called Punungsur in the Null Kântâ, near which Lugdheerjee met Boree Mogul—the Wudwân Raja not having yet come up, and fought with him a great battle. At last the Mogul was left with but few men, and he, therefore, fled, taking with him, on his horse, the daughter of a Brahmin of Râneesur. Lugdheerjee pursued, and came up with him at about a mile's distance. The Mogul turned and looked round, and perceiving that Lugdheerjee was alone, he wheeled round

his horse and aimed a blow at him, but missed him. Lugdheerjee struck also, and missed his opponent ; both of their horses rearing, they fell to the ground, and, getting up, wrestled. First Lugdheerjee was down, but the lady assisting him, he got the Mogul below him ; the Brahminee then told him to use his dagger. He drew it, and stabbed the Mogul, but not before he had himself received a thrust from his antagonist's weapon, in the belly. Both perished. Lugdheerjee's men plundered the Mogul's camp, and then searching for the corpse of their chief, committed it to the pile, and set up a monumental stone (pâleeyo). The Brahminee they restored to her father, at Râneesur.

The Moolee Purmârs are, to this day, celebrated for their courage, and treated with peculiar respect by the Jutt chiefs, in remembrance of the protection afforded them. A younger brother of Lugdheerjee and Hâloojee, following the example of the latter, became a Mohummedan, and received a grant of the twenty-four villages of Botâd, which his descendants held for several generations. They were, in subsequent times, well known in Goozerat, under the title of Tâlookdârs of Dholka.

CHAPTER VI

MAHMOOD BEGURRA

MAHMOOD's next effort, after his expedition to Sindh, was an attack directed against the pirate chiefs of Jugut and Beyt, to which he was induced by the injuries they had inflicted on a holy man—'one of the most learned philosophers of his age,' who, being on board a vessel bound to his native country of Ormuz, had been driven into the port of Jugut, and there plundered 'by the infidels, misled by the infernal-minded 'Brahmins.' The Mohummedans, with considerable difficulty, made themselves masters of both Jugut and Beyt, and Raja Bheem, the chief of the Rajpoots, being taken prisoner, was, at the instigation of the philosopher, dragged around the city of Ahmedabad, and put to death 'in order to deter others 'from similar conduct.'

Shortly afterwards a conspiracy was set on foot among the Mohummedan nobles, having for its object the destruction of Mahmood, and the elevation of his son, the Prince Moozuffer, to the throne. It was at this time that the king was recommended to give employment to his officers, by proceeding against the fortress of Châmpâner. The conspiracy, however, proved abortive, and Mahmood's proposed expedition was postponed for some years. In A. D. 1482, he prepared for its accomplishment; but at this time his attention was diverted to the pirates of Bulsâr, on the coast below Surat, who had gained an ascendancy at sea which had not only interrupted trade, but even excited apprehensions of invasion. Mahmood now appeared in the character of a sea-captain; he collected a fleet at Cambay, on board of which he embarked a force consisting of archers, musketeers, and gunners; and giving chase to the enemy, sustained a running fight for some hours; during which, several of the piratical vessels were captured. It was not until the close of the year that he was prepared to march against Châmpâner. Before we accompany him to the

siege of this fortress, however, it is necessary to revert for a time to the affairs of Eedur.

Row Bhân, the brother of Nârondâs, appears to have been the prince who was compelled to give his daughter in marriage to Mohummed Shah, the father of Mahmood. The Mohummedan historians speak of him under the name of Beer, or Veer Raja. He is mentioned in an inscription on a well at Jebhârâ, in Eedur-wârâ, which not only furnishes us with a date, but, also, with a solution of the discrepancy regarding his name. The Row, it appears, had accidently killed a cow, for which crime he endeavoured to atone by building the well in which the inscription is preserved. 'In Sumwut, 1532 '(A. D. 1476), on the fourth of the moonlight half of the month 'of Phâlgoon, on Monday, Kâmdooghâ Mâtâ,—O Râm, 'Shree Râm !—having come to drink water, Raja Shree Shree 'Bhân Veerjee forced her to take shelter with Râm. Therefore, 'to remove his sin, a gold cow, as a gift, he presented ; a place 'of water he caused to be constructed.' * * * 'Row Bhân,' say the bards, 'soon after he had assumed the royal cushion, 'began to fix his boundaries. He first struck the Seerohee 'village of Lâs, and fixed a stone (pâleeyo), with a horse 'sculptured upon it, which still remains at a spot between 'Roherâ and Poseenâ. Next he fixed his boundary at Row 'Jethee's funeral temple, on the Nyhee river ; and beyond that 'he took the Chupun-pâl-land, which now belongs to Oodei-'poor. Thence he advanced to Thâno, formerly called "the 'Row's Thâno," on the Somâ river, about four miles from 'Doongurpoor. Thence he continued his march along the 'banks of the Somâ, to Mâlpoor and Mugoree, which he in-'cluded in the Eedur territory, as well as Kupperwunj and 'the Bâwun districts, as far as the river Sâbhermutee. That 'river he made his boundary line as far as Târingâ, which he 'included ; and thence he went again to the stone at Seerohee.' The boundaries thus laid down, include, we may observe, a very ample territory.

Târingâ, here alluded to, is one of the celebrated sacred mountains of the Jains. Though it possesses neither the magnificence of Shutroonjye, nor the beauty of Tulâjâ, it is yet picturesque and interesting. The temple of Ujeetnâthjee,

built by Koomâr Pâl, stands on a considerable piece of flat elevated land, in the bosom of a chain of mountains. It retains more of the venerable appearance of age than either of the shrines of Pâleetânâ, though, like them, it has suffered much from the modern innovator ; it is surrounded by several small temples of recent date, and in its vicinity are, as usual, reservoirs of the purest water. On the hill there remains a shrine sacred to the Devee Târun Mâtâ, from whom is derived the name of Târingâ ; it is associated with the times of Venee Wuch Râj, and his Nâg Pootree consort, and the site was probably occupied by a building long before the royal convert of Unhilwârâ installed Shree Ujeetnâth. A jungle, of the thickest character, surrounds the hill on all sides, and renders access difficult to all, and nearly impracticable to a party unprovided with a guide, much more to an invading enemy. Two easily-defensible paths alone give access to the plateau on which the temples stand, and which, like that at Eedur, is fortified by the filling in of the few gaps nature had left exposed. On three of the surrounding peaks are built little whitened chutrees or pavilions, which, from their exceeding brightness, when a glimpse of them is now and then obtained through black ravines and tangled forest, serve as lanterns of the day, pointing out to the way-worn pilgrim the site of the holy dwelling of the ' Invincible Lord.'

In A. D. 1471, Mahmood Shah having withdrawn his court to his new city of Moostufabad,* near Girnâr, a powerful officer, ennobled by the title of Mohafez Khân, occupied a viceregal position at Ahmedabad, and his son, Mullik Khizr, in the king's absence, marched without orders, and exacted tribute from Row Bhân of Eedur, as well as from the chiefs of Wâgur † and Seerohee.

Row Bhân was about this time engaged in a contest with the Râwul of Champâner, whom he took prisoner, and carried with him to Eedur, but released after a six months' captivity. The cause assigned for the feud is characteristic ; it is said that Row Bhân was attenuated in person and swarthy in complexion, and that the Râwul enraged him by causing a buffoon to personate him in some dramatic entertainment, in which the company were amused at an exposure of the Row's defects.

The following verses, supposed to be spoken by the consort of the Râwul, express the terror with which the prowess of Row Bhân had inspired his enemy :—

When, wearing ankle-bells, I walk,
He thinks 'tis armour clanking,
When ornaments I wear,
They seem to him to be mail,
When my bracelets clatter,
He thinks 'tis the clash of swords,
My ear-rings, when they glitter,
Remind him of the blaze of fire.
From fear of Row Bhân my husband starts,
Even when safe in his home remaining,
How can I sport with my husband
Who has no moments' respite from fear.

To Row Bhân and his Rânee, is attributed the construction of the Bhânsur and Râneesur tanks at Eedur, with that of several other reservoirs at Wurâlee, Dudhâleea, and other places. The bards further assert that Row Bhân was mainly instrumental in the conquest of Châmpâner, effected by Mahmood Begurra, and though no mention of the circumstance is made by the Mohummedan historians, it is very probable, especially considering the former feud, that the forces of Eedur formed part of the army of the shah.

The fortress of Châmpâner, so called from Jâmb or Châmpâ, the companion of Wun Râj, and its reputed founder, is also known as Powan-gurh,* 'the castle of the winds,' a name not undeservedly attributed to it from the stormy blasts that continually howl around it. It has the reputation of being a favourite residence of the goddess Kâlee, whose temple occupies its summit, and more than one Rajpoot chieftain, regarding himself as her feudal vassal, bends with respect to the authority which holds possession of the venerable hill. The mountain-rock of Powan-gurh stands nearly isolated, frowning over the eastern districts of Goozerat, and on some sides presents to view little but perpendicular cliffs ; its steep ascent is everywhere strongly protected, and that which to the observer from the plains appears an artificial fortification is found to be a natural defence, consisting of rock scarped to a depth most formidable. At its northern base lie the remains of the city of the Hindoo princes, and there a remnant of falling domes and broken minarets, protruding through the dry and

dusty jungle, evinces that as a Moslem capital the city once bore the name of Mahmood-abad.*

Of the Hindoo princes of Châmpâner, as of the great Scottish house of Marr, it may be said 'their origin is lost in its 'antiquity.' At what period the castle of Châmpâ passed into the possession of the Chohâns it is needless to conjecture, but the 'Pâwaitchas of Powan-gurh' it may be asserted were not unworthy scions of a race to which has been assigned the palm of martial intrepidity among all the royal houses of India. Râwul Gungâdâs we have mentioned as the opponent of Mohammed Shah; the prince of whom we are now to speak, was his son, Jye Singh, by Ferishta intitled 'Beny Ray,' and widely known in Hindoo tradition under the name of Phutâee Râwul.

The Râwul of Châmpâner, hearing of Mahmood's preparations to attack him, at first sallied fiercely forth, and carried fire and sword into the territories of the shah, and then, as if terrified at his own temerity, sent ambassadors to implore forgiveness. Mahmood, irritated by the devastation which had been committed, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation, and the advanced guard of the Moslem army arrived at the foot of the hill of Kâlee on the 17th March, A. D. 1483. The shah himself soon afterwards joined with the main body of his army. Râwul Jye Singh once more made offers of submission, but as these were not received, he commenced a desperate resistance. The lines of the besiegers were continually attacked by the Rajpoots, who at length appeared in such force that Mahmood was compelled for a time to abandon the siege in order to give them battle. The action was sanguinary and obstinately contested, and the Hindoos, though ultimately repulsed, effected their retreat in order. Mahmood now resumed the siege, and the Râwul, notwithstanding a partial success in cutting off a convoy of provisions and stores for the besiegers, found himself hard-pressed, and, in despair, had recourse to his old ally, the Sultan of Malwa. Gheiâs-ood-deen assembled an army, and showed a disposition to aid the Râwul, but on Mahmood's advancing against him he abandoned his intention, and the shah returning to his lines before Châmpâner, caused a mosque to be built therein in order to convince his troops of his determination to persist in the siege. The

approaches were now carried so near the place as to admit of the besiegers discovering the sally-port through which the Rajpoots passed each morning to perform their ablutions. A breach in the western wall was about the same time effected. On the morning of the 17th November, A. D. 1484,[1] the sally-port was seized by the Mohummedans, while Mullik Eiaz Sooltany, afterwards famous for his naval contest with the Portuguese, escaladed the western wall. The Rajpoots made desperate attempts to expel Mullik Eiaz, but without success; Mahmood Shah in person supported him with fresh troops, the standard of the crescent waved upon the ramparts of Châmpâner, and a Moslem shell—emblem of Kâlee's anger—fell upon the palace of its sovereign. A funeral pile now rose within the walls, the wives, the children, the wealth of the Rajpoots were placed upon it, the fire rose, raged, and died away, and then the defenders of Powan-gurh, with bodies bathed in water and wrapped in saffron robes, flung themselves desperately upon their enemies. Few of the Râjpoots survived, the victors also suffered severely both in killed and wounded, and the Râwul of Châmpâner and his minister, covered with their own blood, fell into the hands of the shah.

Mahmood caused public prayers to be read for his victory, and while the sick and wounded were recovering he was employed in building 'a beautiful mosque,' and in giving a Mohummedan character to the city now termed Mahmoodabad. He stained his victory, however, by the murder in cold blood of Râwul Jye Singh and his minister, who, after recovering from their wounds, were vainly solicited to purchase life by embracing the Mohummedan faith.

Such is the Mohummedan account of the fall of Châmpâner. The names of the chief Hindoos who perished in the final sacrifice—so congenial to the blood-loving Kâlee—have been preserved by the bards:

In Sumwut, fifteen hundred and forty one,[2]
In the month of Posh, on the third day, the day of the sun,
Six rajas perished. First, Vershee fell,
Then Sârung Jhâreja, Kurun, and Jetmâl.
Survaiyo Chundrabhân for Phutâee gave his life,
When Mahmood Shah, the great king, took Pâwâgurh.

[1] *Vide* Briggs's Firishta, vol. iv, p. 68.*

[2] On this occasion the bards are accurate in their date; Châmpâner

It would seem, however, that the city only, and not the fortress on the mountain had been as yet captured by Mahmood, and, though the Mohummedan historians say nothing further on the point, there is probably truth in the common Hindoo traditional account, which states that the castle of the winds yielded only to a lengthened blockade.

Phutâee Râwul, says another bardic tradition, was king of Châmpâner. Once at the festival of the Nowrâttra, he went to see the women, singing 'gurbhos.' Kâleekâ Devee, of Châmpâner, on this occasion having assumed a human form, was singing among them. The raja, beholding how beautiful she was, fell desperately in love with her; he laid hold on the Mâtâ's scarf, with lustful intention. Kâlee pronounced the curse upon him, that his royalty should pass away.

Once on a time, the padishah, in the course of a journey, passed within sight of Châmpâner, and, when he beheld the fortress, he stroked his moustache with his hand. There was a Brahmin in the city who had a son, called Lowo, which Lowo witnessed this action of the king, and knew thereby that the king had formed the intention of taking Châmpâner. He went to Phutâee Râwul, and told him that the padishah would take his throne that year. The raja constructed five lines of fortification around the city, of stone, of water, of wood, of mud, of jungle. He prepared ammunition also, and sent Lowo to Ahmedabad to keep a watch upon the padishah. Lowo hired a mansion, which belonged to a merchant, opposite the padishah's palace. Once on a time the king sat at a window, looking in all directions. When he looked towards Châmpâner he stroked his moustache with his hand, and spoke of preparing an army. Lowo became aware that the padishah was now about to attack Châmpâner; he returned to Phutâee Râwul, and told him that the padishah's army was coming against him. The Râwul took all possible precautions with a view to defence.*

fell, according to Firishta, in A. D. 1484. If Mr. Prinsep's opinion be adopted, and fifty-seven years allowed as the difference between the Sumwut and the year of our Lord, the bardic date will exactly agree with the Mohummedan. If fifty-six years be allowed, as is more usual, there will be a difference of one year between them. [The Vikramá era starts from the bright fortnight of Chaitra, 58 B. C. Its origin has been the subject of much controversy, and has not been ascertained. See p. 10, *note*.]

The army of the padishah, five hundred thousand in number, advanced to within a short distance of Châmpâner, but no one knew what the object was which the king had in view. At midnight the padishah assembled his Sirdârs, and commanded them to plant his flag upon the city. The army attacked the city, and cannonaded it, but the fire from the city was heavier than the fire of the assailants, and the city could not be taken; so the padishah blockaded it for twelve years, but still without success. He then made peace with Phutâee Râwul, and called him to his own quarters to an interview, in the course of which he enquired of the Râwul how he had discovered his intention of attacking him. The raja answered that his priest, Lowo, had discovered his intention, and informed him of it. The padishah agreed never to interfere with Châmpâner, and asked to be presented with Lowo. Phutâee Râwul agreed, and the king caused a pâleeyo to be sculptured with the figures of two donkeys, and underneath to be written,—'If any 'Mohummedan take this city, there is the donkey's oath '(gudheree gâl) to him.' He carried Lowo away with him, and made him his minister, and though he did not take the city of Châmpâner, he seized the districts and surrounding villages, and established it as a rule, that no one should carry anything into or out of Châmpâner. The inhabitants were distressed on this account, and took shelter in Ahmedabad.

The padishah, continues the bard, went from Châmpâner to Oomrâlâ,* and seizing the raja of that place, carried him to Ahmedabad, where he threw him into prison. The raja remained in confinement for two years, and at the end of that time, a potter, of the village of Bhundâreeo, in his territory, went to Ahmedabad, and made acquaintance with a potter of that city, who was employed about the prison, with whose assistance he succeeded in bringing the raja out in a donkey's panniers, and placed him among a band of Uteets,† who carried him to his father's sister, at Châmpâner. She paid his ransom to the sovereign of Ahmedabad, and replaced him on his throne of Oomrâlâ. From that day the Oomrâlâ rajas took the name of Râwul, in imitation of Phutâee's title, and they still retain it, and at their enthronement a descendant of the potter of Koombhâreeo makes the royal mark upon their foreheads.

The latter part of this tradition carries us back to the Gohils of Peerum.

Mokherâjee Gohil had by his wife, Wâdun Koonwurbâ, a Râjpootnee, of the Survaiyo clan, and of the family of Hâthsunee, near Pâleetânâ, a son, named Doongurjee, who succeeded him. He had also two other sons, Semursunghjee and Gormâljee, both of them born at Peerum. Semursunghjee went to reside with his mother's family, at Râjpeepla, and eventually succeeded to its possessions. Gormâljee left no descendants.

Doongurjee, the elder brother, abandoned Peerum, and made Gogo his residence. He was succeeded by his son, Veeyojee, who left three sons, Kânjee, Râmjee, and Roodojee. Kanjee succeeded, and left two sons, Sârungjee and Gemuljee, who were minors when their father died.

Râmjee, on the arrival of a Mohummedan army under the leader whom the Hindoos call Boree Mogul, made submission to that officer, and, surrendering his nephew, Sârungjee, as a hostage, seated himself on the royal cushion at Gogo as if in his own right. Sârungjee was conveyed to Ahmedabad ; but a potter, named Pâncho Goojur, of the village of Kooleyâk, having gone thither, succeeded in carrying him off in a pannier, on the back of one of his asses. The escape of Sârungjee becoming known, some horsemen followed the fugitives. At a time when he was nearly overtaken, the potter fortunately fell in with the jumât, or band, of a gosâee, named Pertâp-gur-Bhâwo, and, having explained to their leader that the boy was the Gogo raja's heir, who would be able at a future time to recompense a service now paid to him, he placed him under the Gosâee's protection. The potter, continuing his route with his asses, was overtaken and seized by the horsemen, but these, disappointed in their expectations of discovering Sârungjee, went on but a little further, and then, giving up the pursuit, returned. Pertâp-gur-Bhâwo * conveyed the young prince to Phutâee Râwul, of Doongurpoor, who had married his father's sister, and Sârungjee remained in concealment there until he had attained the age of twenty years. He then begged of his aunt that she would give him a few attendants, and allow him to proceed homewards. Râwul Phutâee supplied him with a force for his protection, and his aunt dismissed him, saying,

'Go and recover your rights, and your descendants shall bear 'the title of Râwul as a memorial of the protection you have 'received from Doongurpoor.' Sârungjee, agreeing to this, set out, and made his way to Oomrâlâ. His uncle, Râmjee, at Gogo, hearing of his arrival, sent for the Lords of Gâreeâdhâr and Lâtee, the descendants of the younger sons of Sejukjee, and heads of the two earliest branches of the Gohil house, and offered to resign to them twelve villages each if they would assist him against Sârungjee. Trâpuj and eleven other villages he passed to the chief of Gâreeâdhâr; and to the Lâtee Thâkor he offered the twelve townships of Wâlookur. These leaders at first assented to Râmjee's designs; but afterwards, while returning together from Gogo, they considered that they had not done well in making such an agreement, and preferring a cadet's right to the cushion to that of the lineal heir; they determined, therefore, to go together to Oomrâlâ. Having arrived there, and being admitted to an audience of Sârungjee, they said to him, 'Râmjee Ghoghâree has sent us to 'oppose you, promising us twelve villages each, but, as you are 'the owner of the royal cushion, we present the grants to 'you.' Sârungjee said, 'Bring me the grants, I will sign 'them.' He did so, and secured their loyalty. Râmjee Ghoghâree, hearing of what had occurred, felt that his opportunity was lost; he, therefore, set off for Oomrâlâ, and himself also made submission to Sârungjee. The chieftains drank the red cup together, and agreed to forget the past. Sârungjee advanced to Gogo, and took possession of the royal cushion. His uncle, Râmjee, making obeisance before him, received as a grant for his subsistence the villages of Ookhuloo, Ugeeâlee, and Bhurelee, the grâssiâs of which still bear the surname of Ghoghâree. Râmjee held also the village of Monpoor.

In A. D. 1494, a revolted officer of the Dekkan government,* having seized some Goozerat trading vessels, and also taken possession of the island of Mahim, Mahmood Shah sent a fleet and army against him. The fleet, having arrived off the island, was destroyed by a tempest; the admiral, and as many of his sailors as escaped, were washed ashore, and either made prisoners or massacred by the enemy. The officer who commanded the army, having marched through the northern

Konkun, as on a former occasion, heard of the naval disaster on his arrival near Mahim, and, halting his troops, despatched a messenger to Mahmood Shah for instructions. The rebels were afterwards subdued by the King of the Dekkan, and their fleet delivered over in compensation to the Goozerat admiral, who was released from prison.

Next year, Mahmood Shah 'marched towards the countries 'of Wâgur and Eedur, from the rajas of which places he 'exacted large offerings, and returned laden with treasure to 'Mahmoodabad Châmpâner.' Soorujmuljee, the son of Row Bhân, appears to have been at this time the Prince of Eedur ; he reigned eighteen months, and left a son, Râeemuljee, whose throne was, in his minority, usurped by his uncle Bheem.

In A. D. 1507, Mahmood Shah again appeared as an admiral. 'The infidel Europeans, who had of late years usurped the 'dominion of the ocean, endeavoured, at this time, to occupy 'for themselves some part of the coast of Goozerat, on which 'they wished to settle.' Umeer Hoosein, the admiral of the Turkish emperor Bajazet II, arrived off the coast of Goozerat with a fleet of twelve sail, carrying fifteen hundred men ; and Mahmood Shah, anxious to aid in the expulsion of the foreigners, sailed in person with his fleet to Damaun and Mahim. The Umeer-ool-Oomra Mullik Eiaz Sooltany sailed, also, from the port of Diu, and, having united his squadron with that of the Turkish admiral, attacked the Portuguese fleet, then lying off the harbour of Choul, a few miles to the south of Bombay. Victory declared for the Mohummedans ; and the Portuguese fled with the loss of 'three thousand or four thousand infidels' as their adversaries assert ; or, as they themselves admit, of their flag ship, their admiral Don Lorenzo Almeida, and one hundred and forty men. The combined fleet was, however, afterwards defeated, and the Mamlook part of it annihilated in a battle fought close to Diu, on the coast of Soreth.

Sultan Mahmood, if not the greatest, is certainly the most popular of the kings of Ahmedabad ; he is to the Moslem as Sidh Râj is to the Hindoo—a nucleus around which gathers romance and tale. His personal bravery and strength, his justice, his beneficence, his strict observance of Mohummedan ritual, and the excellence of his judgment, are alike extolled.

He was also, it is said, 'a great eater.' Many are the anecdotes which are related of him; nor is there a fragment of Moslem architecture in Goozerat which popular feeling does not connect with the name of the great king—Mahmood Begurra. In addition to the two Mohummedan cities of Moostufabad and Mahmoodabad Châmpáner, he founded a new city on the banks of the Wâtruk, which, also, he called by his own name; 'and having fortified a rising ground on the banks of 'the before-mentioned river, he ordered noble palaces to be 'built, of which the marks and remains,' says the author of Meerât Ahmudee, 'are yet to be seen at the time of writing, 'being the year A. D. 1756.' At one or other of these he frequently resided; but he was punctual in 'going to Ahmed-'abad during the hot season of ripe melons, and returning 'again after enjoying himself there for six months.' The same writer goes so far as to assert that 'all the fruit trees in 'the open country, as well as those in the city, towns, and 'villages, were planted in the reign of this sultan.' It is said that his surname was derived from the capture of those two, as yet impregnable, Hindoo fortresses [1]—Girnâr and Châmpâner, a derivation which appeared to Ferishta to be 'sufficiently 'rational and probable,' and which, as we have none equally good to offer, we may adopt upon his authority. It was, perhaps, his naval warfare which won for him an European reputation. 'The travellers of his day,' says Mr. Elphinstone,[2] 'seem to have formed a tremendous idea of this monarch. 'Bartema and Barbosa are both full of him. One of them 'gives a formidable account of his personal appearance; and 'both of them agree that a principal part of his food consisted 'of mortal poisons; and so impregnated was his system with 'this diet, that if a fly settled upon him, it instantly dropped 'down dead. His usual way of putting men of consequence 'to death was to blow upon them after he had been chewing 'betel. He is the original of Butler's "Prince of Cambay," 'whose

'——daily food
Is asp, and basilisk, and toad.' [See Appendix.]

[1] *Be* meaning two, and *gurh* a fort.

[2] Vide *History of India*, vol. ii, p. 206. Edit. 1841.

The following account of his death is derived from the Meerât Ahmudee—' In the close of the year A. D. 1510, the sultan ' set out for Puttun, and, as this was the last time he appeared ' in public, having collected together all the great men of ' the state, he told them that his life was near a close. On ' returning from Puttun he came to Ahmedabad in four days ; ' when, having made a pilgrimage to the burial-place of Sheik ' Ahmed Khuttoo, he wept tears of repentance over his own ' tomb, which had been built at the foot of the Sheik's mauso-' leum. Subsequently to this, having entered the city of ' Ahmedabad, he fell sick ; and continuing so for three months, ' sent for the Prince Khuleel Khân, from Baroda. After ' informing him of his approaching dissolution, he finally took ' his leave for another world on Monday, the 3rd of Rumazân, ' in the year of the Hijra, 917 (A. D. 1511) ; and his remains ' were deposited in the mausoleum which still exists at ' Sirkhej.'

[APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI

MAHMŪD BEGAḌA

Firishta (Briggs, iv. 77) and the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* (Bayley, p. 161) derive Begaḍa from *Bigarh*, a word applied to a bullock ' because its horns stretch out right and left like a person about to embrace. The moustachios of the Sultān were straight and long like these horns '. Zachary Grey in his note on the famous passage in *Hudibras* (part II, canto i, Chandos ed., p. 141 *n.*) says ' Mahmūd was of that poisonous nature that when he determined to put any nobleman to death, he had him stripped naked, spit upon him, and he instantly died '. Probably the Sultān was actually in the habit of squirting *pān* from his mouth in the direction of an obnoxious courtier, as a sign to the executioners.]

CHAPTER VII

MOOZUFFER II—SIKUNDER—MAHMOOD II—BUHÂDUR SHAH—MAHMOOD LUTEEF KHÂN—CLOSE OF THE DYNASTY OF AHMEDABAD—THE EMPEROR AKBAR

Mahmood Begurra was succeeded by his son Moozuffer II, whose opening reign was rendered remarkable by an earnest appeal to him for assistance, which proceeded from the Sultan of Malwa. Mednee Râee, the Hindoo minister of that prince, had, it was represented, acquired such authority, that nothing beyond the name of king was left to the sultan, and infidelity was, therefore, rapidly regaining its dominion. Moozuffer II, moved with zeal for the true faith, immediately commenced his march for the land of Bhoj ; and Ein-ool-Moolk, the Governor of Unhilwârâ Puttun, was ordered in consequence to move his division to Ahmedabad. The opportunity was not neglected by the still unconquered chief of the Râthors. Row Bheem, of Eedur, the younger son of Row Bhân, whom we have beheld usurping the throne of his nephew, Râeemuljee, taking advantage of the governor's absence, plundered and laid waste the surrounding country as far as the river Sâbhermutee. Ein-ool-moolk, on the receipt of this intelligence, marched to Morâsâ, where he was attacked by Row Bheem and defeated, with the loss of an officer of distinction and two hundred men. Moozuffer Shah, hearing of this, instantly returned to his own dominions, and taking up a position at Morâsâ, laid waste from thence the whole of the Eedur territories. Row Bheem himself took refuge in the hills ; but the garrison of Eedur, consisting, as the Mohummedans assert, of only ten Rajpoots, defended the place with obstinacy against their enemies. Eedur was, however, taken ; its temples, palaces, and garden-houses were levelled with the dust, and its heroic defenders put to the sword. Meanwhile, the Row, having deputed a Brahmin, named Mudun Gopâl,* as his envoy to the Shah, had, through

him, expressed his regret at the warfare which had arisen, and which he attributed to unprovoked outrages committed by Ein-ool-Moolk. He sent also one hundred horses and two hundred thousand 'tunkhas' as an offering, and Moozuffer Shah, in consideration of the deferred expedition to Malwa, thought proper to overlookhis defection and accept the treasure, which was applied to the purposes of the projected campaign. Moozuffer Shah now proceeded into Malwa. Row Bheem, of Eedur, was at his death succeeded by his son, Bârmul;[1] that prince was, however, soon after deposed by Sung Rânâ, of Cheetor, whose daughter had been married to Râeemuljee, the son of Soorujmul, now grown up to manhood. Bârmul, in the year A. D. 1515, sent envoys to Moozuffer Shah to solicit his aid, and the Mohummedan sovereign, displeased at the intervention of Sung Rânâ, and glad of the opportunity of asserting 'that Bheem Row ruled Eedur by his authority,' determined to send a force to the country of the Râthors. Nizâm-ool-Moolk, his officer, accordingly advanced, and replaced Bârmul on the throne; but, having pursued Râeemuljee into the hills, he was brought to action, and defeated with severe loss. The shah reproved Nizâm-ool-Moolk severely for having exceeded his instructions, and recalled him to the capital, but, on his arrival there, appointed him to the government of Ahmednugger. In A. D. 1517, Râeemuljee again appeared in the Eedur territory, and defeated, with the loss of two hundred and seven men, Zeher-ool-Moolk—the Jher Khân of Hindoo tradition—a Mohummedan officer who had been sent against him at the head of a body of cavalry. Mullik Noosrut-ool-Moolk was, upon this, directed to march to Veesulnugger, and to plunder and lay waste the whole of the surrounding country, which the shah, in his orders, styles 'the receptacle of renegadoes, and the asylum of rebels.'

The two following years were honorably employed by Moozuffer Shah in restoring to his throne the Sultan of Malwa. The Rajpoots were more than once defeated. Mândoo-gurh

[1] There are two inscriptions of these princes on wells at Teentoee and Reetorâ. The first was constructed in Sumwut, 1566 (A. D. 1510), by order of 'Shree Muhâ Râee, Shree, Shree, Shree Bheem, and Koonwer Shree 'Bârmul;' the second in Sumwut, 1599 (A. D. 1543), 'when Muhârâjâ 'Râee Shree Bârmul' was ruling victoriously.

was taken by assault, and Rânâ Sung, who had attempted its relief, was forced to retire. Moozuffer Shah, having received marked expressions of gratitude from Sultan Mahmood, returned to his capital, which he had scarcely reached when he received intelligence that Râeemuljee, of Eedur, had sallied from the Veesulnugger hills, laid waste the Puttun district, and sacked the town of Gilwârâ. The Râthor prince had, at length, however, been compelled to retire by Mullik Noosrut-ool-Moolk, who commanded at Eedur. The shah determined to seize Râeemuljee; he advanced, in person, towards Veesulnugger, and laid waste the country. He did not, however, succeed in effecting his object. Râeemuljee soon after died of disease, and Bârmul, as his heir, acquired an undisputed title to the royal cushion.

At this time intelligence was received that Sultan Mahmood, of Malwa, having ventured, in company with his Goozerat auxiliaries, to attack the combined forces of Mednee Râee and Rânâ Sung, had been defeated, and taken prisoner. Soon afterwards, Noosrut-ool-Moolk having been removed from the government of Eedur, and Moobâriz-ool-Moolk nominated to that office, some person ventured to extol, in the presence of the new governor, the bravery of Rânâ Sung. Moobâriz was incensed at this praise, and to show his contempt for the gallant prince of Cheetor, he caused a dog to be tied up at the fort gate, which he directed to be called by his name. Sung Rânâ, hearing of this insult, was so much enraged, that he immediately marched with the intention of attacking Eedur, and had soon pillaged the country as far as Seerohee. Having arrived at Wâgur, he was joined by the raja of that country, with whom he advanced to Doongurpoor. The Governor of Eedur now thought it necessary to send for reinforcements; but his enemies at court prevented their despatch, representing to the shah that Moobâriz, after having wantonly insulted the Rânâ, was now pusillanimously seeking for assistance, even before he had sustained an attack. Moobâriz-ool-Moolk was, therefore, compelled to evacuate Eedur, and retire to the fortress of Ahmednugger. The next day Sung Rânâ took possession of the Râthor capital, where he was joined by several Rajpoot chiefs from the vicinity of Ahmedabad, who

had fled from the oppression of its governor. With his new allies he advanced towards Ahmednugger, swearing that he would not draw rein until he should be able to water his horse at the Hâtmutee river. Moobâriz-ool Moolk, though his force was far outnumbered by that of his opponent, quitted the fortress of which he held command, and formed in battle array outside its walls, on the opposite bank of the stream. The troops of Rânâ Sung received an attack from the Mohummedans with great steadiness, and then charged. The array of Islâm was broken by the fury of the Rajpoots, several officers of distinction were killed; Moobâriz-ool-Moolk, himself, was severely wounded; his elephants were taken, and the whole force was driven in confusion towards Ahmedabad. Sung Rânâ now plundered the surrounding country at his leisure: he spared the Brahmins of Wurnugger; but finding Veesulnugger defended against him, he took it by assault, slaying the Mohummedan governor. Having thus revenged himself for the insult which had been offered to him, he returned, unopposed, to Cheetor.

The viceroy of Moozuffer Shah, then absent on the Malwa frontier, having succeeded in reinforcing his army, and the dog, Rânâ Sung, having retired, Moobâriz-ool-Moolk attempted to re-assume his government. On the way to Ahmednugger, he was opposed by a body of Rajpoots and Koolees from the Eedur territory, whom he defeated, but, having reached that city, he found the country around so enfeebled by the ravages to which it had been lately subjected, that he was compelled to fall back for supplies upon Poorântej.

Moozuffer Shah, determined not to allow of the abandonment of Ahmednugger, directed his officers to hold it at all hazards during the rains; and in December, A. D. 1520, he marched thither in person, with an army destined, eventually, for the reduction of Sung Rânâ. The Eedur country was again subjected to the ravages of the Mohummedans; but no decisive success was obtained by them over the Rânâ of Cheetor, with whom 'a peace was patched up,' as the author of *Meerât Ahmudee* relates, 'in consequence of the hypocritical conduct 'of the officers commanding the troops.'

The Rows of Eedur, during the occupation of their capital

by the Mohummedans, lived, it is said, with their families at Surwân—the village held by the descendants of Sâmulyo Sord, situated in the hilly country on the frontiers of Mewar. Row Bârmul, as the Reetorâ inscription proves, outlived Moozuffer II, as well as his sons, Sikunder and Mahmood II, and was alive in A. D. 1528, when 'Buhâdur Shah marched towards 'the countries of Eedur and Wâgur, from whence he returned, 'by Châmpâner, to Broach;' and also in A. D. 1530, when the sultan again 'marched towards Eedur; but himself 'retired, after despatching two of his officers, with a large force, 'to Wâgur.' Row Bârmul died after A. D. 1543, and was succeeded by Row Poonjâjee, respecting whos career no incidents have been preserved.

It is unnecessary to our purpose to enter into a detailed account of the fortunes of the dynasty of Ahmedabad, whose history, as related by the Mohummedan writers, contains, henceforth, nothing which bears directly upon the story of the Hindoo princes of Goozerat. The reign of Sultan Buhâdur was one marked by the most violent contrasts. At one time we behold him emulating the glory of his great predecessor, Sidh Râj, his supremacy acknowledged by the kings of Candeish, Berar, and Ahmednugger; his rule extending over the kingdom of Malwa, once again subdued by the arms of Goozerat; and his victorious banner waving from the lofty battlements of Mândoo. At another time we find him driven from his kingdom by the Emperor Hoomâyoon, whom, in his prosperity, he had provoked. And, at last—a miserable affray with the Portuguese, sullied by more than the suspicion of treachery on either side, resulting in his death—we behold his murdered corpse cast upon the waters of the ocean; while the annalist who relates his story can close it only with admissions of weakness, and presages of decay. 'After the death of 'Sultan Buhâdur, much disorder and sedition found their way 'into the affairs of Goozerat; and, from that time, the tribute 'from the kings of the Dekkan, and the ports possessed by 'the Europeans, was no longer received.'

Several years afterwards, in A. D. 1545, Mahmood Luteef Khan, the nephew of Buhâdur Shah, being then the occupant of the royal cushion, the extinction of the rights of the Hindoo

land holders, formerly attempted in part, and with circumspection, in the vigorous days of Shah Ahmed and Mahmood Begurra, was now sought to be effected over the length and breadth of Goozerat, by hands as feeble as they were presumptuous; and a course of policy was entered upon, which, had other causes of dissolution been wanting, could hardly have failed in producing the total subversion of the throne of the sultans. 'At this time the shah abandoned the pleasures 'of the harem, and the government having thus received an 'accession of power, both nobles and soldiers fell so com'pletely under its management that they had not the power 'of disobeying. There was now some desire manifested of 'seizing upon Malwa; but when the sultan consulted his 'minister, Âsuf Khân, in this matter, he was told that he 'might obtain a country equal to Malwa by merely attaching 'a fourth part of the Goozerat province, or that part called 'the apportioned (Wântâ) lands, then possessed by Rajpoots, 'Grâssiâs, and Koolees. "If," said the minister, "that fourth 'was only brought under government management, it is 'sufficient, as a jagheer, to maintain twenty-five thousand 'horse;" and the order was accordingly given for its resump'tion.' The result was one which might have been expected—an universal, and, as subsequent history proves, a successful insurrection; for whatever deeds of oppression and of blood may have been enacted at the time, and however the Mohummedan rulers may have chosen to believe, or the Mohummedan historians to represent, the Hindoos to be a crushed and subdued people, the fact remains beyond dispute that their descendants, in spite of many a subsequent danger, still possess the soil of which it was sought to deprive them; while little but squalid poverty, and tottering ruins, represent the once proud sway of the dynasty of Shah Ahmed. 'The Grâssiâs of Eedur, 'Seerohee, Doongurpoor, Bânswârâ, Loonâwârâ, Râjpeepla, 'the banks of the Myhee, and Hulwud (Jhâlâwâr), began, on 'this account, to disturb the country. The parties of soldiers 'stationed at Seerohee, Eedur, and other places, were, there'fore, ordered to extirpate the very name of Rajpoot and 'Koolee from such places; excepting, however, those who were 'the armed police of the country, or such as were engaged

'in trade, and who were to be distinguished by a specific 'mark on the right arm. Should any of this class be found 'without this mark, they were to be executed. In consequence of such orders, the Mohummedan faith obtained such 'a superiority in those parts, about the latter end of this 'reign, that no Hindoo was allowed to ride on horseback 'through the city ; and those on foot were not allowed to wear 'clothing unless distinguished by a patch of red cloth sewed 'on the shoulder. They were, moreover, prevented from 'exhibiting any public marks of infidelity—such as the 'idolatries of the Hoolee and Dewâlee festivals, It is, therefore, related that after the villain Boorhân* murdered the 'sultan, the Grâssiâs and Koolees set up an image of the 'murderer, which they worshipped and addressed, saying— '"This is our protector who has saved us from perdition."'

Whoever in the present day visits Goozerat, and in particular that capital city of Ahmedabad, which was the principal scene of these tyrannies, may behold the subterranean temple of the persecuted Hindoo, and the tall minaret of the Moslem in his day of power and intolerance, and may compare the state of affairs which these recall with things that are. The falling mosque strews the earth with its ruins, while, beside it, emerging from their dark hiding places, the images of Shiva or of Pârusnâth are installed in newly erected temples ; and the descendants of the swaggering Putâns and Moguls inlay the marble floors of the Hindoo shrines, or for a pitiful hire, wave the torch and beat the drum in those idolatrous processions which gaily move along to re-establish in state the mute gods which their fathers fancied they had destroyed.

Sultan Mahmood was put to death in A.D. 1554 ; his dynasty lingered through the reigns of two feeble successors until the 18th November, A. D. 1572, when the great Akbar displayed his imperial banner within sight of the city of Ahmed, and a crowd of its inhabitants, of all ranks, went forth to welcome him as their sovereign.

'The learned and observing,' says the author of *Meerât Ahmudee*, 'well know that a cause for the decline of every 'empire which has existed since the beginning of the world 'may be found in the animosities of its nobles, assisted by

'rebellious subjects, whose mutiny and endeavours, thank 'God! generally revert on themselves, so that some more 'fortunate rival steps in and profits thereby. Such was the 'end of the kings and nobles of Goozerat. Fate having 'decreed the destruction of the government, its servants, by 'disregarding all sacred ties in the midst of rebellions, went to 'war among each other; so, under the semblance of friendship, 'they openly committed acts of hostility, until at length, those 'parties being set aside, the powers and seals of this kingdom 'were transferred to the hands of the illustrious descendant 'of Teimoor—Jelâl-ood-deen Mohummed Akbar.'

The period which immediately preceded the establishment of Akbar's authority was indeed one of the most melancholy in the history of Goozerat. At this time the Mohummedan nobles of the country, who had set up a supposititious son of Mahmood II. under the title of Moozuffer III., divided, in reality, the country among themselves. Itimâd Khan, the most powerful of their number, held the capital city of Ahmedabad, with the port of Cambay and the intervening territory; a second leader possessed the ruins of Unhilpoor, with much of the country between the Sâbhermutee and the Bunâs; to a third had been assigned the harbours of Surat and Broach, the fortress of Châmpâner, and the provinces south of the Myhee; Dhundhooka and Dholka had fallen to a fourth; and a fifth, seated in the fortress of Khengâr, affected to extend his rule over the peninsula of Soreth. Of Hindoo military vassals of the state there were at this time many. The northern districts, ranging from Kuree to Deesa, supplied a body of three thousand Rajpoot horse; Bohrjee, the zumeendâr of Bâglânâ, possessed the forts of Mooler and Sahler; and, served with the same number of cavalry, the revenues of two districts in the province of Godhrah were settled on the zumeendâr of Sonth and 'Chuttârâl Koolee' for the services they performed; other 'Wuttundârs,' or hereditary landholders, in the district of Nâgor, served with a large force of mounted Rajpoots, and Poonjâ Râthor of Eedur, Râee Jye Singh of Râjpeepla, the Râwul of Doongurpoor, the chief of the Jhâlâs, the Jâm, with his four hundred grâssiâ dependants, and Khengâr Jhâreja of Bhooj supplied contingents, which, in cavalry alone, were

estimated at sixteen thousand men. These powerful Rajpoot chiefs who had maintained their lands and much of their independence against all the encroachments of the dynasty of Ahmedabad, had, of course, little to fear from the fragments of its shattered power, and the wild aboriginal tribes began again to break forth like a fire which had been restrained, indeed, by superincumbent weight, but had never yet been extinguished.

On the conquest of the country by Akbar, a viceroy or soubahdâr was appointed over the whole, under whom served the district revenue and military officers. The soubahdârs were usually men of the highest rank. The office was held by Khân Uzeez Kokâ, the foster-brother, and by Sultan Morâd Bukht, the son of Akbar *; by Shah Jehân in the life of his father, Jehângeer, and by the Prince Morâd, his son, during his own reign. The annals of these times belong, however, to the general history of the empire of Delhi, and the pages of the Mohummedan writers contain little information in regard to the Rajpoot chieftainships, whose story is the object of this work. We find that Raja Todur Mul, when deputed by the emperor Akbar to effect a revenue settlement in Goozerat, seized every opportunity of conciliating and attaching to the throne the Rajpoot chiefs, in furtherance, doubtless, of the wise and generous desire of his master to rule no longer only as the chief of the Mohummedans, but as the head of a great and united Indian nation. On his arrival on the frontier of Goozerat in A. D. 1576, 'the zumeendâr of Seerohee,' we are informed, 'presented a tribute of five hundred rupees with 'one hundred gold mohurs.' Raja Todur Mul gave him in 'return an honorary dress, a jewelled head ornament, and an 'elephant, after making an agreement with him, on the part of 'the Delhi government, that he was to serve the governor of 'Goozerat with two thousand cavalry. Raja Todur Mul 'went from thence to Surat, and on the way thither, having 'had a meeting at Broach with the zumeendâr of Râmnugger,† 'who presented a tribute of twelve thousand rupees and four

[1] This must have been a 'nuzur,' the usual offering made at a visit, and not a payment of tribute. Here, and in the extracts which we shall afterwards have to produce, there is, however, much difficulty in regard to the numbers.

'horses, he made him suitable presents in return. The 'zumeendâr was at this time permitted to assume the rank of 'fifteen hundred horse, and agreed to serve the Governor of 'Goozerat with one thousand cavalry.

On Todur Mul's return from Goozerat towards Delhi, 'he 'received a visit from Rânâ Sâhsmul, zumeendâr of Doon-'gurpoor, when this chief was presented with an honorary 'dress, and the rank of two thousand five hundred cavalry. 'He was also permitted to take leave at Meertha after having 'agreed to serve in the province of Goozerat.'

From a statement made in the *Ayeen-i-Akbery*, that Row Nârondâs, of Eedur, commanded five hundred cavalry and two thousand infantry, it would appear that he also, like the chiefs of Seerohee and Doongurpoor, had been retained to aid the Viceroy of Goozerat with a subsidiary force. In the bardic Churittra of Veerum Dev also, the Row of Eedur is represented as a military vassal of the Delhi emperor. Ubool Fuzil alludes to others of the chiefs of Goozerat as similarly situated. 'Chalawareh,' he says, 'formerly was an indepen-'dent territory, containing two thousand two hundred villages, 'which extended seventy coss in length, and forty coss in 'breadth; and it had ten thousand cavalry with the same 'number of infantry. Now it has two hundred cavalry and 'three thousand infantry; it is subject to the Governor of 'Goozerat, and inhabited by the tribe of Chaleh (Jhâlâ). 'Although now formed into four divisions, it is only reckoned 'as a single pergunnah of Ahmedabad. It has a great 'number of towns.' The four divisions here alluded to were those of Hulwud, Wudwân, Lugtur, and Limree, the formation of which will be described in a succeeding chapter. Soreth, was, according to the same author, divided into nine divisions. The first of these, commonly called 'new Soreth,' had not been explored for a long time on account of the thickness of the forests and intricacy of the mountains. Joonagurh was situated in this division. New Soreth, as well as the second division of Puttun Somnâth, was inhabited by 'Rajpoots of the 'Gehlote tribe'; and the chiefs commanded, each of them, one thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry, 'together 'with a number of Aheers (or cowherds), meaning, probably,

Kâtees, of whom it is said in another place that they are of the Aheer caste, and that it is their business to look after horses. Of the third division, Ubool Fuzil informs us that, 'At the 'foot of the mountains of Sironj (Shutroonjye), is a large city 'now out of repair, although the situation is very desirable.' The allusion is, probably, to the remains of Wullubheepoor. 'Maabidcheen,'* he continues, 'and the port of Ghogeh are 'dependent upon it. The island of Birum is also in this division; 'it is a square hill of nine kos in the midst of the river, 'and, formerly, was the seat of government. The zemeendar 'of this division is of the Gohil tribe, and commands two 'thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry.' The fourth division was inhabited by Wâlâ Rajpoots; it included the ports of Mhowa and Tulâjâ, and supplied a contingent of three hundred cavalry and five hundred infantry. We need not follow our author through the remaining divisions, his description of which is not at all times intelligible. The Wâdhels, he mentions, possessed the port of Arámrâ, which was a very strong place, and their contingent numbered one thousand horse and twice that number of foot. The kindred tribe of Wâjâs held a seaport called Jhânjeer, and supplied two hundred cavalry and the same number of infantry. By 'the tribe of Chee-'tore,' who mustered one thousand horse and two thousand foot, the author, probably, meant the Jetwâs of Bhoomblee. 'The Bagheyleh tribe' inhabited one division, and commanded two hundred horse and the same number of foot; while the Kâtees, of the same part of Soreth, mustered six thousand horse and ten thousand foot; and another tribe of Aheers, who lived on the banks of the river Doondy, and were called Poorunjah, mustered half that number. The military force of the Jhârejas of Kutch Bhooj was ten thousand cavalry and fifty thousand infantry; they were tall and handsome men, and wore long beards. The Jâm 'Suttersal,' a relation of the ruling family of Kutch Bhooj, was the grandson of a chief, who, having been driven out of that country by the Râwul, sixty years before, had settled in Soreth, 'between the 'territories of Chatwah,† Badhil, and Nowneel,' in a fertile country to which he had given the name of 'Little Kutch,' and in which he had formed his capital city of Nowânugger.

The Jâm's contingent was seven thousand cavalry and eight thousand infantry.

In the *Meerât Ahmudee* we find it mentioned that the Jâm of Nowânugger was, at one time, the supporter of Moozuffer III., the last of the sultans of Ahmedabad, but that he eventually betrayed him to his enemies. Moozuffer and the Jâm were defeated by the viceroy Khân Uzeez Kokâ, in A. D. 1590, and compelled to take refuge in the hills. The viceroy, subsequently to this victory, plundered Nowânugger, and besieged Joonagurh, which was defended by adherents of Moozuffer III., but being unsuccessful, for the time, in taking the latter place, he returned to Ahmedabad, when, as the historian remarks, the nobles were, for once, permitted to remain quiet on their own estates. Next year, Joonagurh fell into the hands of the viceroy, and Moozuffer was driven to take refuge with Khengâr, the Row of Kutch, who also had supported him. Uzeez Kokâ sent a force in pursuit of him, under the command of his son, who, during his march, received the submission of the Jâm, and concluded a treaty with him, and the forlorn sultan, being soon after seized by the aid of the Jâm, that chief received, as his reward, from the imperial officers, the Pergunnah of Moorbee, which had formerly constituted part of his territory.*

The following notice of the Rajpoot chieftainships, which lay on the eastern frontier of Goozerat, is to be found in the work of Ubool Fuzil :—'Near to Merow and Mungreetch is a 'territory called Pall, through which runs the river Mehin-'dery. On the Goozerat side of this territory is an indepen-'dent zumeendâr, who resides at Doongurpoor. On the Malwa 'side of this country is Banswaleh, whose chief is independent. 'Those two last mentioned chiefs have each five thousand 'cavalry and one thousand infantry ; and they were both of 'the Seesodyah tribe, and relations to the Ranna, but now the 'possessors are of another tribe.

'In the vicinity of Sirkar Putten is a country of which 'Serowhy is the capital. The chief commands one thousand 'cavalry and five thousand infantry. He has a fort on the 'top of a mountain called Iyugurh (*vide* Aboogurh), encom-'passing twelve villages, with great plenty of water and 'pasturage. There is also another territory situated to the

'east of Nuderbar, to the north of Mendow, to the south of 'Nadowt,[1] and to the west of Chumpaneer, measuring sixty 'cose in length, and forty in breadth. The chief is of the 'Chowhan tribe, and his capital is Alymohan. Here are 'many wild elephants. The military force is six hundred 'cavalry and fifteen thousand infantry.

'Between the Sircars of Surat and Nuderbar is a moun-'tainous country, well inhabited, called Buglana. The chief 'is of the Rathore tribe, and commands three thousand 'cavalry and two thousand infantry. Here are apricots, 'apples, grapes, pine-apples, pomegranates, and citrons in 'great perfection. Buglana has seven forts, of which number 'Mowleer and Saleer are exceedingly strong.

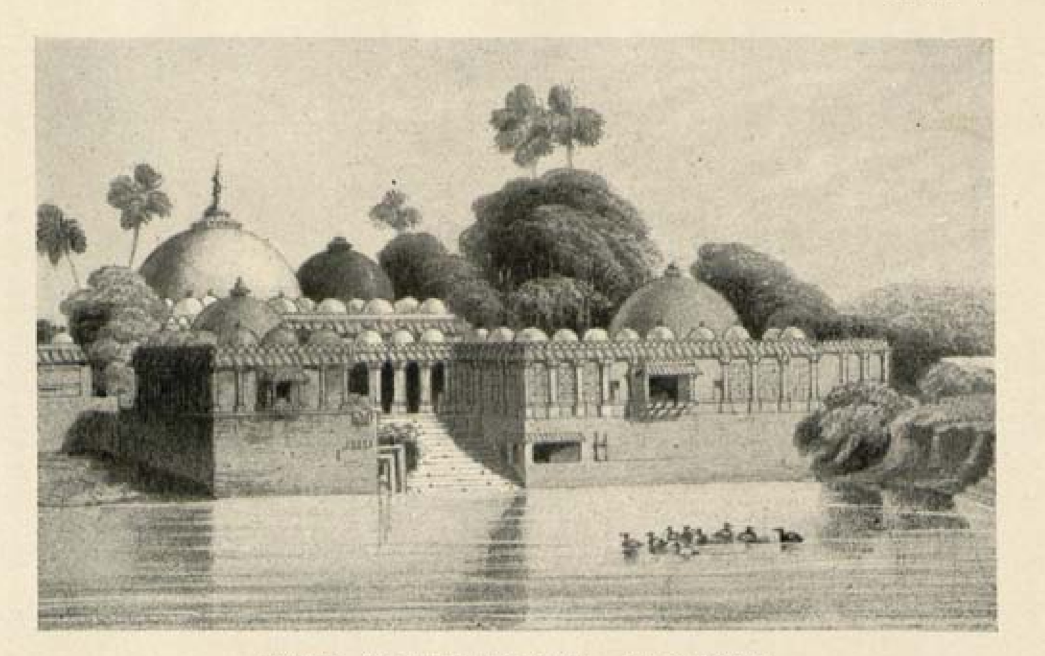
'Between Sirkar Nadowt and Nuderbar is a hilly country, 'measuring fifty cose in length, and forty cose in breadth. It 'is inhabited by the Gowhil tribe of Rajpoots. At present 'the management of public affairs is in the hands of one 'Tewary, a Brahmin, and the raja, who possesses nothing but 'the name, resides sometimes at Rajpeeplah and sometimes at 'Ghoolwa. He has three thousand cavalry and seven thousand 'infantry. The water of the latter place is very bad; but 'there is produced very good rice and honey.'[2]

The chieftainship last alluded to is that which, as we have seen, was founded by Semursunghjee, the son of Mokherâjee Gohil, the king of Perumbh, who succeeded to it in right of his mother.

[1] [These names should be Nandarbār, Mandū, and Nadōd.]

[2] Vide *Ayeen Akbery*, translated by Gladwin, vol. ii, article,—'The 'Soobah of Gujerat,' pp. 75 to 96. [Gladwin's trans. (2 vols., London, 1800) is a pioneer work, from imperfect MSS., and full of errors. The authoritative rendering is by Blochmann (vol. i, 1873) and Jarrett (vols. ii and iii, 1894).]

PLATE V



TOMBS OF THE SULTANS, AT SIRKHEJ

CHAPTER VIII

AFFAIRS OF EEDUR—ROW NARONDAS—ROW VEERUM DEV—ROW KULEEAN-MUL

Row POONJA, of Eedur, was succeeded by his son, Row Nârondâs, who is mentioned (A. D. 1573) as having aided in creating disturbances against the government of Khân Uzeez Kokâ, the Mohummedan nobleman appointed by Akbar to the viceroyalty of Goozerat.[1] The insurrection was suppressed by the emperor, in person, and a large army was sent to punish the Row of Eedur. Two years afterwards, Uzeez Kokâ having been succeeded in his government by Meerzâ Khân, 'a suitable army was sent to subdue Eedur,' and in A. D. 1576, Row Nârondâs, being overwhelmed by the multitude of the imperial army, took refuge in the mountains. At length, leaving his place of security, and advancing to give the Mohummedans battle, he was defeated, and his capital fell into the hands of the emperor.

The following notice of Row Nârondâs is to be found in the *Ayeen-i-Akbery*: 'The Zumeendâr of Eedur, who is named 'Nârondâs, lives with such austerity that his only food is 'grain which has passed through oxen, and been separated 'from their dung; and this kind of aliment the Brahmins 'consider as pure in the highest degree. This Nârondâs is 'one of the principal chiefs of the Râthor tribe; and he 'commands five hundred cavalry and two thousand infantry.'

Row Nârondâs was succeeded by his eldest son, Veerum Dev, a favorite hero of bardic tradition. A somewhat lengthy ballad poem records the adventures of his youth, and narrates how, at the age of five and twenty years, he found his way to Poongul, in the north of Marwar; how he won the love of the beautiful Punnâ, the daughter of a wealthy merchant of that

[1] Vide *Meerât Ahmudee*, by Bird, pp. 325, 339, 343, 349.

place; how he triumphantly carried off the lady by force of arms, and how he slew many a valiant chieftain, when the array of Poongul 'came upon the wâr.' Another bardic account continues the story of Veerum Dev to its close, and this latter we propose to present to the reader, in as literal a translation as possible. It is entitled,

THE CHURITTRA OF ROW SHREE VEERUM DEV

A year and a half after Veerum Dev had returned from Poongul, the Emperor Akbar summoned all the rajas of India to Delhi. The Princes of Oodeipoor, Jodhpoor, and Boondee, with others, obeyed the command. They remained three or four months at Delhi. Row Nârondâs and Prince Veerum Dev also went there. One day, a tiger, which the emperor had in a cage, made its escape. Akbar gave orders that it should be caught, but his warriors answered, 'Sire! a tiger cannot 'be laid hold on.' Prince Veerum Dev said, 'A Rajpoot 'might lay hold on him, but he could not be sure to do so. 'The tiger might kill the Rajpoot, or the Rajpoot might kill 'the tiger.' The emperor said, 'You have well spoken.' Then Veerum Dev went to lay hold on the tiger; he held a little shield in his hand, and advancing it before him, soon came to fisticuffs with his enemy; he struck down the tiger, and wrapping a scarf round his left arm, he thrust it into the brute's mouth, and with his right hand stabbed it with the point of his sword, so that it died. Then the emperor was delighted beyond measure, and gave him a magnificent dress of honor. Akbar said, too (alluding to Nârondâs, who was spare in person), that he had thought less than he ought of the gaunt Row, not knowing him to be the father of such a son as Veerum Dev.

Now Veerum Dev asked only one boon of the emperor, 'When I shall have come here, and it shall happen to be my 'wish to return to Eedur, let me have leave to go at once.' Akbar promised that he should. The Row and his son then made their obeisance, and went home to Eedur, and soon after Nârondâs died, and Veerum Dev sat on the royal cushion. Nârondâs left four Ranees:—one was the sister of the Rânâ Pertâp Singh, of Oodeipoor, who bore to him his two elder

sons; the second was the daughter of the Bhâtee Prince of Jesulmer, and the mother of Râee Singh and Kishor Singh; the third was a lady of the Shekhâwut clan, the mother of Gopâldâs. The Row left, besides, a fourth Rânee, the daughter of the Hârâ of Kotah, and three concubines. The whole seven became sutees with Nârondâs. After this, a chief of the Row's, Hemut Singh, the Beeolâ, had gone to Doongurpoor on a visit, because his sister was married there to the Râwul Râm Singh. Dinner time having come, Râm Singh sent for him, and, with much urgency, pressed him to dine off the same dish with him. The chief had weak eyes, and they watered as he sat at dinner. Râm Singh said, 'There's nothing I have such an aversion to 'as this; if I had known of it, I would not have invited you 'to sit beside me.' Hemut Singh, hearing such insulting words, got up and left the room; he returned to Eedur, and said to Row Veerum Dev, 'I am not strong enough of myself 'to strike Doongurpoor, may it please your highness to accom-'pany me? If not, with the men and money I have, I will go 'and fight with Doongurpoor, and die there.' Veerum Dev said, 'Do you stay here until after New Year's-day, and then 'I will accompany you.' After the festival they mounted accordingly, and set forth. Meanwhile, a famine having occurred in Marwar, two bard's sons, who were on their way from thence to Goozerat, met them. One of the boys was going along on the road, carrying some food with him, when Veerum Dev's cavalcade came up; he then moved on one side, and stood close to the hedge till it should pass. The Row, seeing him, cried out, 'Halloo there! who are you? and what are you 'standing beside the hedge for?' The boy answered, 'Muhârâj! 'I am a bard's son, and I have heard that Veerum Dev rains 'gifts even upon the hedges, so I am looking to see what he has 'rained on this hedge.' Then Veerum Dev took from his wrists his golden bracelets, and, throwing them into the hedge, said, 'Go on looking, you'll find something in the hedge.' As they went on, the boy's brother was standing by a well. The Row asked him, 'Is this well yours?' He answered, 'Sire! 'how should it be my well? the well is your highness's.' The Row then gave order, 'I have presented this well to you.' Veerum Dev caused both of these boys to be suitably married,

and descendants of theirs still enjoy the said well. After this, the Row halted eight or ten days at Wurâlee.

Now, while Veerum Dev's camp was pitched beside the Sumuleshur tank at Wurâlee, it so happened that his brother Râee Singh also came by chance, as he was engaged in hunting, to that place. This Râee Singh, it must be noted, was a most eager sportsman. When Veerum Dev saw him, it came into his mind that if Râee Singh remained alive he would take his throne. Afterwards, when he had returned from Wurâlee to Eedur, he involved that brother of his in some fault, and slew him with his sword. This Râee Singh had a sister who was married at Jeipoor, and who, retaining this cause of feud in mind, put Veerum Dev to death, as will afterwards be related.

As things went on in this manner, another new year came round, and the Row collected his army, which with the following of his chiefs, amounted to eighteen hundred horse. They set out, and advanced by stages to Vincheewârâ; their warlike stores, such as armour for men and horse, cannon and swivels, being carried on the backs of camels. Hemut Singh, too, was with them with his force, for whose sake, indeed, it was that it became necessary to advance upon Doongurpoor. The Chief of Vincheewârâ, who was a vassal of Doongurpoor, made enquiries as to whither the Row's cavalcade was advancing. Answer was made to him that the Row was on his way to his father-in-law's at Râmpoor, which is on the banks of the Chumbul, on the borders of Mewar and Malwa. However, the chief knew that Hemut Singh and his sovereign were at enmity, and he thought to himself, 'Here is Hemut Singh 'with them, with all his men, and guns and other warlike 'stores, what reason can there be for taking all these to Râm-'poor?' So he was lost in doubt. Then the Eedur chiefs said to Veerum Dev, 'Some one will say that the Row came 'like a thief and struck Doongurpoor, but if he had come 'openly he would not have struck it, therefore the matter 'should be made public.' The Row said, 'It is well!' Then they told the chief of Vincheewârâ that they were advancing against Doongurpoor, and that he should go and make known publicly that the Row was coming against them at

Doongurpoor, and that they should get ready to fight with him. The chief went, accordingly, and made the matter known, and, the Râwul called his vassals together, and got ready to fight, and sent a messenger to Veerum Dev to say, 'Come at your 'leisure to fight, we are ready.' The Row remained eight days at that halting place, and then advanced to the neighbourhood of Doongurpoor, and the battle commenced by a discharge of cannon on both sides. The assailants knocked down a good deal of the fort and palace of Doongurpoor, which remain in the same broken state to this day. After ten days spent in this way, they put armour on men and horses, and assaulted the place, upon which occasion each side lost a hundred men. The Râwul, with his family, fled, and the Row, having remained three days and a half at Doongurpoor, and plundered the town, and taken all the treasure he could find, returned to Eedur. When he was gone, the Râwul returned home.

After this the emperor's army came against Oodeipoor,* and the Rânâ, Pertâp Singh, fled to Venchâwârâ (this is the Venchâwârâ, which is near Pânowrâ) for the Rânâs were, from father to son, in outlawry against the emperor, and that sovereign had carried away the doors of the gate of Cheetore, and had set them up in the gate of Delhi ; fifty two rajas had perished, and the Rânâs, in their troubles, lay at nights on counterpanes spread on the ground, and neither slept in their beds nor shaved their hair, and if, perchance, they broke their fast, had nothing better to satisfy their hunger than beans baked in an earthen pot ; for which reason it is that solemn practices are to this day observed at Oodeipoor ; a counterpane is spread below the Rânâ's bed, and his beard remains unshorn, and baked beans are daily laid upon his plate. To this day, too, no new doors have been made for the further gate of Cheetore, and when the English government proposed to the Rânâ that he should cause new doors to be made, or that, if he liked, his own doors should be sent for for the purpose, the answer received was, that the Rânâ would set up his own doors again when he should have brought them from Delhi, by force of arms.[1] However, to return,—When the Rânâ

[1] For the story of Rânâ Pertâp Singh of Mewar, see chap. xi of the *Annals of Mewar*. Tod's *Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, vol. i, pp. 385 ff.

fled to Venchâwârâ, a Mewar Bheel, named Châmpo, who was in outlawry against the Rânâ, was making great disturbances in that part of the country. The Rânâ drove him out, and he lived in the wild part of the Eedur territory, where he maintained himself by highway robbery and breaking into houses at night. When he began to give great trouble in Eedurwârâ, the Row, Veerum Dev, said to his chiefs, 'I will give a reward 'to any one who will seize this Châmpo Bheel.' Then the chief of Dudhâleeâ said, 'I'm the man, I'll seize him.' So saying, he went off to his village. When Châmpo Bheel heard this, he left off all other excursions, and began to ravage Dudhâleeâ only. The chief thereupon sent privately to him to say, 'You must not plunder my village; I will not seize 'you.' Some months after this the Row again spoke to his chiefs. This time the chief of Mohunpoor said he would seize the Bheel. After having so said, he was on his way home, and had arrived at the tank at Sâbulee, where he lay down under a sacred fig tree, putting off his arms. He sent also three or four horsemen that were with him into the village to procure necessaries. As the shadow of the tree moved, so he moved also, pulling the coverlet spread under him, until, at last, he had left his weapons at a long distance. Meanwhile, Châmpo Bheel came there; he had heard what had passed, and, therefore, thought he would kill the chief. He said to him, 'So you have come out to seize me, have you?' The chief was afraid, and said, 'It is not to seize you that I want, 'but I have been very anxious to have an interview with 'you.' So saying, giving him confidence, he invited him to sit beside him, and gave him opium to drink. Afterwards, when Châmpo got up, and was going away, the chief considered with himself, 'If he gets out of my hand at this time, 'when will such another opportunity arrive?' So considering, immediately he sprang upon Châmpo, and seized the sword he had in his hand, and the dagger that was in his waist, and with one hand stabbing him with the dagger, and with the other striking him with the sword, he put him to death. After this his own horsemen came up, and with them he sent the Bheel's head to Eedur, himself returning home. The Row presented him with the place which had been the

haunt of Châmpo Bheel, where he founded a village called Châmpânâlya, which still forms part of the Mohunpoor estate.

At this time, Veerum Dev determined upon attacking the fort of Ahmednugger, and, with that view, assembled his vassals. Of these the principal was Rutun Singh Wâghela, of Poseenâ. The force was got ready, guns and stores were prepared, and Ahmednugger attacked for ten or twelve days, and at last taken; the market-place was plundered, and hostages were seized. When Veerum Dev returned back, the merchants of the town began to repair their losses. The Row then said that he would not obstruct them on condition of their preserving the name of Eedur, whereupon they called one of the gates of the town 'the Eedur gate.'

The Pethâpoor chief was with the Row on this expedition, and from enmity on that account, an army from Ahmedabad attacked Pethâpoor. The Row hastened to his assistance, and repulsed the Mohummedan army, upon which the Pethâpoor chief gave his daughter in marriage to Veerum Dev. The Row was very fond of this lady on account of her great beauty, so he presented her brother with the village of Gudhâ, which is still part of the estate of Pethâpoor, after which the chief continued for a length of time to act as the Row's minister.[1]

After this, an army from Delhi came to levy tribute upon Râmpoor, the seat of Veerum Dev's father-in law. The latter thereupon wrote to Veerum Dev to say—'This army comes 'against me to-day; but to-morrow it will come against you. 'Do you, therefore, hasten to my assistance.' Veerum Dev assembled a thousand horse, which he sent with his vassals of Mohunpoor and Dudhâleeâ. At this time, Rutun Singh, of Poseenâ, stayed at home in anger, the reason of which was this, —Some one had said to the Row—'It was because your high-'ness had such a follower as Rutun Singh, that you took 'Ahmednugger;' to which Veerum Dev answered—'What

[1] The Pethâpoor bardic account is as follows:—'The chief Doodojee 'with seven hundred Rajpoots was slain when Shukurdeen came to 'attack Eedur, at which time many Toorks also fell. Twelve Wâghela 'chiefs, a Gohil, and a Purmâr fell with Doodojee. Eedur was victorious. 'The Eedur Row, on this, gave to Wâghjee, the son of Doodojee, the 'twenty-five villages forming the estate of Gudhâ which is still enjoyed 'Pethâpoor.'

'can Rutun Singh do? Is it a kingdom founded by him that 'I rule over?' The chief, hearing this, was enraged. Now the two above-mentioned leaders went to Râmpoor. The Row of that place had sworn an oath that he would employ no Rajpoot who was either unwounded, or wounded in the back. A battle was fought with the invading army, which was driven back; but many Rajpoots, both of Râmpoor and Eedur, came to use there, and it is doubtful whether a single one escaped unwounded. Veerum Dev presented villages to the heirs of the deceased 'for their heads.' Some say that it was on account of the assistance thus afforded, that Veerum Dev obtained the daughter of the Row of Râmpoor for his wife.

After this, the Mohummedan army came against Cheetor,* and the Rânâ of Mewar made a desperate stand; fifty-two rajas came to use, and Rânâ Pertâp Singh received many wounds; at last the imperial army was compelled to fly. This Pertâp Singh was the mother's-brother of Veerum Dev, on which account the Row went to pay him a visit. He stayed many days at Oodeipoor, until the Rânâ recovered. At Oodeipoor there is a great tank called 'the Peecholoo,' in the middle of which are grand palatial buildings, called 'Jug 'Mundeer.'[1] The Rânâ and the Row used to go thither in a boat. One day a kingfisher, hovering in the air, dashed into the water after a fish. The Row was very much delighted, and said—'Wâh! wâh! what spirit the little bird has!' Then the Rânâ asked where the bird had dived into the water, upon which the Row, taking a jewelled armlet off his arm, pitched it into the water, and said—'There, that 's the place.' The Rânâ cried out 'the armlet 's gone, the armlet 's gone.' Then the Row threw in the other, and said—'We must give 'a present that will please it to such a gallant little bird, must 'we not.' This the bards have celebrated as a great act of generosity.

Afterwards Veerum Dev returned to Eedur. At that time a Marwar bard, whose name was Âlojee, came to ask alms of Veerum Dev. Now it was the Row's practice not to go in turn to any Rânee on the day of the full moon; but to stay

[1] See, for a description and view of this reservoir, Tod's *Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, vol. i, p. 247.

at the palace of the Râmpoor lady, and to sit at the eastern window till the moon appeared, when he distributed gifts, called 'lakh pusâv.' * On this occasion he was seated, as usual, and called out, 'Bring the lakh pusâv, here is some bard.' The minister said—'Yes, there is this one bard come; call him.' The bard came, accordingly, and said—'At night time a prostitute 'or a female ascetic might receive alms. I won't receive 'them at such a time.' The Row said—'Take them now, for 'in the morning I will not give them.' The bard swore an oath to leave Eedur at day-break, and said—'If you would 'give me two lakhs, I would treat it as a defiled thing.' The Row then said—'If it be my fault that you turn away, then 'may you get a subsistence; but if it be your own fault, and if 'you go away leaving me in blame without right, then may 'you get no subsistence.' Thus he cursed him. At the same time he gave the lakh pusâv, and the village of Reheroo, to another bard. Now the first-mentioned bard rose in the morning, and took the road; with him were forty horses, five camels, and tents and equipage of all sorts; but wherever he went in Râjwârâ he met with disrespect, and at last he found his way home to Marwar, having sold the whole of his equipage to fill his belly.

Now, as to Rutun Singh, of Poseenâ, who had been enraged: the Row, day by day, began more and more to hate him; on which account, the chief mounted his horse, and caused his cavalcade to get ready, and went off suddenly to Seerohee. Then the Row reflected,—'If I were to seize on any of the 'seventy-two villages of Poseenâ, I should drive him out into 'rebellion; but, on the other hand, I get no service from 'him.' Thus considering, he sent a bard to Seerohee to invite Rutun Singh to come in. The chief, however, refused to come to Eedur; but agreed to come to Gudhâ. So the Row set off thither, and a meeting took place. Then Veerum Dev pretended great affection externally, and he and Rutun Singh sat down together in an old temple which is in that place; but two Rajpoots, of Seerohee, who were in the Row's service, had been prepared beforehand, and they, accordingly, all at once rushed in, and killed the chief with the sword. His estate was given to his son, who was eighteen years of age. A bard made a

song on this, addressed to Veerum Dev, the meaning of which was—'Had you not entrapped Rutun Singh, and slain him, 'after inviting him, he would have swung you and the temple 'round with one hand, as Bheem swung round the elephant.' The Row returned to Eedur; but this song rang in his ear. He set to work and found out who had made the song. The Row swore he would slay the bard if he could get him into his power, and proclaimed that he would give a reward to any one who should bring news of him. One day when the bard had gone to Wurâlee to buy opium, the Row, too, happened to come there. As soon as the bard knew of Veerum Dev's arrival, he started off at the top of his speed. Some one told the Row of this, and he mounted and pursued the bard; and, after going some distance, came up with him. The Row then said—'How far will you run away, mounted on that wretched pony 'of yours?' The bard dismounted, and drawing forth a dagger and pointing it towards his belly, said—'Your highness 'will get no praise for killing a poor man like me. Better 'than that, that if necessary, I should die by my own hand.' The Row adjured him not to kill himself, and said—'How is 'it that you, knowing you were under my displeasure, should 'go about on such a poor animal as that?' The Chârun said, 'Sire! where should a poor man, such as I am, get a 'good horse from?' The Row gave him his own horse, and a dress of honor, and the village of Veevâvya, which his descendants still enjoy. He then returned to Eedur.

The Row, after this, made an expedition to Pânowrâ, the cause of which was that the Bheels of that place having made a night attack upon Delol, and carried off the cattle, the chief of Delol, one of the Row's vassals, mounted, and went on the 'wâr;' and, regaining the cattle, slew many of the Bheels and the leader of the foray, whose head he sent to Eedur. The Bheels who escaped, and the heirs of those who died, began to plunder many villages of the Eedur territory, to balance this feud, and caused great annoyance to Delol. The Wâghela of Delol, on this account, made petition to the Row that he would effect a settlement. The Row Veerum Dev thereupon wrote to the Rânâ of Pânowrâ to restrain his Bheels, who made answer that they were not under his control. The

Row then prepared to advance against him, and went by way of Pol to Surwân, and thence to Pânowrâ. The guns played for one day, and next day they used the musket and sword; and the Rânâ of Pânowrâ 'came to use,' with many other warriors, on both sides. The Row stayed a month at Pânowrâ, and slew many of the Bheels of those parts; while others he seized and fined, or released on their giving security. He then placed the Rânâ's son on the cushion, and returned to Eedur. The Koolee chief of Surwân was with the Row in this expedition.

After this the Row set off to perform pilgrimage at Dwârkâ, to expiate the sins of killing his brother, Râee Singh, and the chief of Poseenâ. His Rânees and vassals accompanied him. They went to Dwârkâ, and on their way home halted at Hulwud. The Row seeing there a vast number of Sutees' shrines, asked the Râj of Hulwud, 'Have all these Rânees 'become Sutees?' The Râj answered, 'These are the 'cobblers' wives of this place, who became Sutees.' The Row asked, 'Where, then, are the shrines of the Râjwârâ Sutees?' The Râj said, 'I never heard that any one in my family had 'become a Sutee.' The Row said, 'There must be some 'fault in this ground. Make yourself a palace on the spot 'where the cobblers' houses are.' The Râj had tried that, he said, but still there had been no Sutee. Then Veerum Dev said—'What! has no one of your family married a true 'Râjpootnee. See then, here is my sister, a virgin, you shall 'have her in marriage.' The betrothal was soon arranged, and when the Row returned home, the Jhâlâ chief came to be married, and the sister of Eedur, at her husband's death, followed him through the flames.

While the Row was absent at Dwârkâ, the son of Lâl Meeâ, of Mândoowâ, who was a wanton fellow, happened to go for a time to Kupperwunj. He saw there a trader's daughter, who was very pretty, and seduced her, and carried her off to Mândoowâ. His father was very angry with him, but the mischief was done, and the girl had lost caste. Kupperwunj was in the Row's possession, and therefore, as he was on his way home from Dwârkâ, the trader came and complained to him. Veerum Dev carried his cavalcade to Mândoowâ,

which he struck, and seizing Lâl Meeâ's son, put him to death. Lâl Meeâ himself fled, and the Row, after staying three days at Mândoowâ, which before and after that time paid revenue to Eedur, returned to his capital.

Now the Row, having no son, made many vows to many Devs and Devees, and performed many pilgrimages, but no prince made his appearance. At last some one said to him that if he would go to the ford, called Omkâreshwur's, on the Rewâ river,[1] and there bathe with his chief Rânee, with the same scarf wrapped round them both, he would obtain a son. The Row accordingly made a progress thither, accompanied by his family. Meanwhile, the following of a shahzâda [2] of the emperor's, had encamped there, and some butchers had collected eight or ten cows for them, which they were driving along the road. Some of Veerum Dev's servants saw them, and asked them who they were, and where they were taking the cows to. They said, they were butchers, and were taking away the cows for the shahzâda. When the Row got intelligence of the matter, and was informed by the butchers that they had brought the cows from a distance of a hundred miles, he offered them from ten to a hundred pounds for each cow, but they refused his offer. Then the Row thought within himself, 'I am styled protector of cows and Brahmins, so it is 'a good thing to die at a place of pilgrimage in defence of 'cows.' Thus considering, he took away the cows by force, and then sent off his family immediately towards Eedur, the Rânee saying that if he came to use in protecting the cows, she would not remain a moment in the world behind him. Now the butchers went to the shahzâda, and complained, and the prince sent a herald to demand the cows. The Row humbly replied, 'I am a Hindoo, and in a place of pilgrimage like this I 'cannot give up the cows as long as there is life in me, but 'whatever price you may command me to pay for them I am 'ready to give.' Then the shahzâda ordered his guns to open on the Row's party, but Veerum Dev and his followers

[1] This is the place commonly called Unkulesur, on the Nerbudda River, opposite Broach.

[2] The 'shahzâdas' mentioned here and in other bardic chronicles of the time are, no doubt, the Mirzas, for an account of whom see Elphinstone's *India*, vol. i, p. 266, &c.*

immediately rushed upon them, and drove nails into the vents, and then the sword played. Many men fell on both sides, and after a time the Row retired to a place two miles off, where he halted. He had, before the fight, let the cows loose in the jungle, solemnly entrusting them to the care of Sooruj Dev. In the night time he reflected that there were very many butchers with that cavalcade, and that if he were to kill them, that would save the life of many a cow, so he fell upon them while it was yet dark, and slew numbers of the butchers. In this action a Khuwâs, of whom Veerum Dev was excessively fond, was killed. The Row, taking up his corpse, retired a few miles and committed it to the flames on the banks of the Rewâ. He then remained secretly at the village of Wudwânee, belonging to a Seesodeea, which is in that neighbourhood, for some days, and every night he went and slew or plundered some of the shahzâda's people. At length the cavalcade, which was going to Ahmedabad, suffered so much knocking about that it turned back to go homewards. The Row performed *Supindee shrâd*,* and other funeral rites, on behalf of the Khuwâs, and erected a pavilion, which is still to be seen, over the spot where his body had been consumed. He then returned to Eedur.

Now the shahzâda, having gone to the emperor and complained, there was a mighty army sent against Eedur, which came and encamped at the Rumulesur tank, and erected batteries against the town. The contest of artillery went on for ten days, but the Row remaining in Eedur-gurh, the emperor's army found that no strength of theirs prevailed against it. They, therefore, set sentries, and encamped there for six months. At the end of this time, the Row, taking with him his Rânees, and their establishment, and eighteen hundred horse, left Eedur-gurh by a secret way, and retiring to Pol, took up his residence there. He left, however, his younger brother, Kuleeânmul, with a few soldiers, in Eedur-gurh. The emperor's army took the town of Eedur, and plundered it, but could not take the fortress. They discovered, also, that the Row had retired to Pol. The shahzâda, therefore, leaving a small force at Eedur, advanced to Bheelorâ, and encamped there with another division of his army, having placed his posts at Wurâlee, Guloroo,

Ahmednugger, Morâsâ, Meghruj, and other towns, and thus taken possession of the whole Eedur country.

The Row lived six months at Pol, provisions ran short, and for two whole days he had been fasting; on the third day he went to the temple of Muhâ Dev, and with the intention of performing the 'lotus-worship,' he aimed his sword at his throat. At this moment the word 'forbear' issued from the temple. The Row looked round, but could see no one; he thought, therefore, that from his weakness of body, consequent on want of food, his mind had been playing tricks with him. He again prepared to kill himself, but three several times the word 'forbear' issued from the shrine. The Row then asked, 'Who is it that forbids me?' the answer was, 'I am Muhâ Dev! why do you seek to slay yourself?' 'Because 'I have nothing to support life with,' said Veerum Dev. 'You shall have that which you seek to-morrow,' was the reply. The Row, upon this, returned to his quarters. At this time the formerly-mentioned Âlo Guduwee, the Chârun, who had gone away, angrily refusing to accept the *lakh pusâv*, came back to the Row, at Pol, in a state of destitution, and sang a good song in his praise, and begged for alms. Those who stood by said, 'Are you not ashamed to ask alms at such a time as this?' To this the Chârun only answered by an extempore stanza. Meanwhile news had been carried to Oodeipoor that 'Veerum Dev is in trouble (wukhé) at Pol, and has no food left.' A supply of money and necessaries was then put upon camels, and sent off, and at this very moment the convoy arrived. Veerum Dev gave all the treasure out of it to the Chârun.

Afterwards the Row considered that it would be out of his power to defeat the emperor's army, and that even if he drove a post out of a position, it would be soon replaced; so he got up one morning, and put a knife and a dagger in his waist, and tied on his sword, and mounted his horse, and set out without telling any one. He took only a single horseman with him, and went to Bheelorâ. There was a high building there, upon which the shahzâda was seated. The Row pulled up his horse below, and gave the bridle to his follower, enjoining him not to stir from the spot. He went on, and said to the sentinel,

that he wished to have an interview with the prince. The sentinel made his request known, and he was directed to lay down his arms and proceed. He went up and engaged in conversation, when he perceived a cat that had seized a pigeon drop with it from the roof of the building to the ground. The cat was above and the pigeon below, so the latter was killed while the former escaped. Veerum Dev thought within himself, 'If I take him, and fall with him, I shall, perhaps, survive.' He seized the prince by the throat, and threw him down out of the window, falling himself upon him. The shahzâda was killed, but the Row, mounting his horse, escaped to Pol. When the shahzâda's death was known, the whole army retired. Then the Row returned home to Eedur, and lived there many days.

Meanwhile, a merchant brought horses to sell them, among which were two horses, named Nuthwo and Jâlâhur, upon which the merchant set a price of forty-four thousand rupees. Veerum Dev purchased them. When the Dusserâ came, and they went to worship the Shumee-tree, and kill the 'Chogâneeo* 'buffalo,' these two horses were much admired. They set free, according to the Eedur practice, a large and well-fed male buffalo; the Row struck it with the blunt edge of his spear so as to make it run, and then the nobles galloped after it to spear it. The buffalo killed, and the shumee-tree worshipped, each exhibited the excellence of his horse and his own skill in riding. This amusement finished, the Row and his nobles rested themselves on swinging seats fastened to the trees until dark, when torches were lighted and the procession prepared, and the whole party marched in great splendour to the court. On the fourteenth, the Row presented the horse, 'Jâlâhur,' to Sâyâ Jhoolâ Guduwee † as a present, and kept 'Nuthwo' for his own riding. That day it was the turn of the Wâghelee lady, of Pethâpoor, to entertain her husband. The Row, having gone to her apartments, said to her two or three times, 'To-day, I gave away my horse, Jâlâhur, in a present.' The Rânee said, 'Why do you keep on telling me time after time 'that you have made a present of a pony?' The Row then grew angry, and said, 'When your father shall give the Chârun 'a horse like Jâlâhur, I will come back again to your apart-

'ments, and not before.' So saying, he got up, and went out. The Rânee, directly she got up in the morning, ordered her chariot, and, going to Pethâpoor, told the story to her father. He then sent men to get a horse of similar value, to Kâteewâr, to Moolee, to Choteelâ, to Thân Râddhuroo, and every other place he could think of where fine horses are produced; but a horse of such value was nowhere to be found. Then the Thâkor went in person to the Chârun's house, and, buying the horse from him for a very large sum, brought it home. Six months afterwards he sent for the same Chârun, and (a thing which made every one stare and look angry) made him a present of the horse. When the Row was made aware of this, he went in person to Pethâpoor, and, after saying 'bravo!' to his father-in-law, brought the Rânee home with him.

Afterwards the Chârun wanted to give the horse to the Row to take care of during the rainy season, but the Row said, 'My Sirdâr, Mâljee Dâbhee, is on duty at the out-post, at 'Brumh Kheir, do you give the horse to him to take care of.' So the Chârun gave it to the Thâkor Mâljee. Soon after this, Rânâ Wâgh, of Tursunghmo, made a foray as far as Kheir, and the Dâbhee, mounting the same horse, set off on the wâr. He was successful, and recovered the buffaloes, but the horse was wounded, for the forayers had taken to the hill Mundowuree, near Wâdhuwâ village, and the horse had galloped halfway up the hill, as may be known by marks that are still existing in that place—and a difficult place truly it is—not such as a horse might ascend. Afterwards the horse died of his wounds; on which subject the Chârun composed some verses. This Rânâ Wâgh, it must be told, was very valiant, and he used to say,—

'I am Rânâ Wâgh,
And up to the Hurnâv is my share (bhâg).'

That is the river Hurnâv, which flows into the Sâbhermutee, at Bhânpoor of the Bhâtees, near Sutlâsunâ,* and the Rânâ claimed it as his boundary.

After this, when another Dusserâ came round, the Row, with his own hand, killed the 'Chogâneeo buffalo.' That day it was the Rânee Chundrâwutjee's turn to receive her husband. The Row said to the Rânee, 'To-day there was a very large

'buffalo, and I killed it myself.' Then the Rânee said, 'A 'male buffalo is a different sort of an animal—this was nothing 'of a buffalo.' Then the Row became angry, and said, 'When 'you can show a different sort of a buffalo then you may be 'pleased to return to Eedur, until then, be so good as to go to 'your father's house, and stay there.' So saying, he got up. Then the Rânee said, 'Let your highness be pleased to 'come to Râmpoor before the next Deewâlee. Make me a 'promise!' The Row made the promise and went away. The Rânee, too, in the morning set off to her father's house. When she arrived there she sent for a wild buffalo, as strong a one as she could get, and began to feed it up to the highest point. Afterwards, about the Deewâlee time, the Row set out from Eedur, to go by way of Doongurpoor to Râmpoor. Meanwhile, a cadet of Jodhpoor, named Umur Singh, when out hunting, wounded a boar which, running away, got into the lands of Vikâner, the raja of which place killed it. Then Umur Singh got angry, and said that he would, without doubt, slay the man who had killed the boar wounded by him. He prepared to attack Vikâner, but, in the meantime, the Delhi Emperor, hearing of the matter, sent a shahzâda to put a stop to the feud. This shahzâda and Veerum Dev met on the road. Then the prince thought of taking revenge for his brother; but, in the meantime, he received a letter from Umur Singh, who had heard of his coming and thought he would take part with Vikâner, to say, 'I am ready for you, too, if 'you choose to come and fight me;' and so he was obliged to leave the Row unmolested and go to the aid of Vikâner. While the fight was going on between these two parties, the Row went on to Râmpoor. When he arrived within thirty miles of the place, he sent forwards to say that he was coming. Now the family bard of Râmpoor had some time or other been to Eedur, where he had not received the respect he was entitled to. On account of that enmity, when he heard that the Row was coming, he caused the above-mentioned wild buffalo to be let loose on the road by which he was to come, pretending that it was doing too much mischief at Râmpoor. When the Row saw the animal coming, he thought that it was let loose to meet him on his arrival, so he killed the buffalo. He then became

very angry, supposing that it had been the intention to ridicule him. He said to himself, 'If I had not killed it, I should have 'lost my character.' In his anger, on this account, he turned back, and put up for the night at a village two miles distant. When the Râmpoor Raja heard of the matter he set out to meet Veerum Dev, and, making apologies to him, brought him back with him, and said, 'It was not I who caused the buffalo 'to be let loose.' When they came to examine into the matter, they found that it was the bard who had set the buffalo loose, upon which he was reprimanded. After this the Row stayed there a month, and then began to talk of going away. The Rânee said, 'Since my father died, the Row of Boondee, 'knowing my brother to be a minor, has seized upon some of 'his districts. As your highness has come, be pleased to cause 'them to be given up.' Then Veerum Dev wrote to the Row of Boondee to say, 'Restore the districts or else get ready to 'fight, and come to the boundary line.' The two chiefs thereupon met at the boundary line, and a battle ensued in which many on both sides were slain. The districts, however, were won back, and the Row, returning to Râmpoor, took the Rânee home with him to Eedur. Afterwards he gave to Sâyâjee Guduwee an elephant and 'lakh pusâv.

A very short time after this, Veerum Dev set off on a pilgrimage to Gungâjee; he bathed at the Sorum Ghât,* and turned homewards. Now, his half-sister (the sister of Râee Singh) was married at Jeipoor. She sent her own Koonwur, her minister, and others to meet Veerum Dev, and invited him with great urgency to Jeipoor. The Row was apprehensive that she would poison him, to take revenge for her brother, therefore he used every precaution in regard to what he ate or drank. At the time of taking leave, a very valuable dress of honor was presented to the Row, which, however, was poisoned. When Veerum Dev got back to Bheelorâ, within the Eedur country, he forgot his fears, and put on the dress. He was immediately seized with excruciating pains, and within an hour became a corpse. His funeral pile was erected at the gate of Bheelorâ, and the Rânees at Eedur, when they heard of the event, became Sutees.

Row Veerum Dev left no son. Of the younger sons of Row

Nârondâs, however, several survived—Gopâldâs, Keshuvdâs, Sâmuldâs, Kuleeân Mul, and Pertâp Singh. Keshuvdâs and Sâmuldâs received the estates of Subulwâd and Hâtheeâ Wussye. Pertâp Singh, whose mother was of the Tursunghmo family, generally lived at Tursunghmo. On one occasion he was the cause of some injury to the Rânâ, who, thereupon, put him to death, and it was partly in revenge for this deed that Row Kuleeân Mul, when he took possession of the cushion, struck Tursunghmo.

Previously to the death of Veerum Dev, Gopâldâs and Kuleeân Mul had, together, made a pilgrimage to Dwârkâ, and, while they were worshipping there, the silver teeluk, on the forehead of the image of Shree Krishn, had fallen into the lap of Kuleeân Mul, who was therefore considered to have been specially appointed by the god to succeed to the royal cushion. When Veerum Dev died, however, Gopâldâs, as the rightful heir, prepared to seat himself on the throne, and the astrologers were employed to calculate the auspicious hour. Kuleeân Mul, then at the house of his mother's family at Oodeipoor, was summoned to be present at his brother's inauguration. When the proper time arrived, Gopâldâs seated himself to be invested with the royal jewels. He put on, first one and then another, and took them off again, and was not able to make up his mind. Meanwhile, the auspicious hour had passed away. The ministers and chiefs were complaining to each other that such a person as this was not fit to manage the kingdom, when, at the very moment, Kuleeân Mul came up from Oodeipoor, attended by five horsemen. The whole court welcomed him, and placed him on the throne. When the royal drum began to sound, Gopâldâs enquired what was the matter, and was informed that Kuleeân Mul had assumed the cushion.

Gopâldâs went to Delhi, and took service with the emperor, in the hopes of procuring assistance to enable him to regain Eedur. At length he advanced, bringing an army with him, and struck Mândoowâ, of which he took possession, and from thence he meditated advancing upon Eedur. Lâl Meeâ, of Mândoowâ, however, concealed his men in a ravine, in ambuscade, and Gopâldâs fell into the net, and was slain with fifty-two Rajpoots. He had left his family when he went to Delhi

at the hamlet of a cowherd named Wolo, and, after his death, they remained there, and founded a village called Wulâsunâ, after the cowherd. They gradually encroached upon the surrounding country, and at length Huree Singh and Ujub Singh, the two sons of Gopâldâs, divided their lands into the greater and lesser estates of Wulâsunâ.

During Veerum Dev's absence at Benâres, the districts of Pânowrâ, Puhâree, Juwâs, Jorâ, Pâtheeâ, Wullechâ, and others had been brought under Mewar. Kuleeân Mul, raising an army, conquered them back again. Rânâ Umur Singh, of Oodeipoor, opposed him with an army; a cannonade commenced the engagement, and then the sword played; there was great slaughter on either side, but victory remained with the Row. Kuleeân Mul also struck Tursunghmo, for the following reason.

Rânâ Wâgh, of Tursunghmo, had heard that the Rânee of Kuleeân Mul, who was the daughter of the Row of Bhooj, was very beautiful. He therefore conceived a great desire of seeing her. On the Dhunâl estate there is a village named Gudheroo, in the lands of which the Row's Jhârejee Rânee had constructed a temple to Shâmlâjee, at an expense of five thousand pounds. Hearing that the Rânee had come to that temple on a pilgrimage, Rânâ Wâgh, assuming the dress of a Brahmin, went thither among a number of Brahmins. The Rânee marked the Brahmins on the forehead, and made them presents; she offered a present to Rânâ Wâgh, among others, but he declined to receive it, and when a discussion arose, disappeared. Row Kuleeân Mul became aware of what had happened, and, in revenge, struck Tursunghmo.

Afterwards, the Guduwee Sâyâjee formed the design of erecting a fort, at the village of Koowâwoo. The Row was not pleased with this proceeding, and therefore he persuaded the Guduwee's astrologer to tell him that his allotted term of life was expired, for the Guduwee had enjoined the astrologer to inform him upon this point, that he might retire to Vruj. The Guduwee, thereupon, set off to Vruj, and presented to Shree Nâthjee a salver containing thirteen pounds weight of gold. Thence he went on to Benares, and, as he had faith in the astrologer's words, he stayed there awaiting his death.

However, he had to wait ten years. When at length he fell very sick, he wrote to the Row of Eedur, to say that he greatly desired to see him. The Row set off to Benares, and was within one stage of that city when news was brought that Sâyâjee had cast off the body. The Row then considered that if he were to continue his journey to Benâres people would say that he had come on a pilgrimage, and not on account of Sâyâjee. He therefore sent for water of the Ganges to the place where his encampment was, and having bathed therein, turned homewards by way of Oodeipoor. From that place he brought Guduwee Gopâldâs, to whom he presented the villages of Therâsunoo and Râmpoor, which are still held in twelve shares by his descendants. To another Chârun, who accompanied him, he gave the village of Thoorâ-wâs, which his descendants hold, divided into four shares.

After this, the Row had a quarrel with Seerohee, and went to war about a boundary. Twenty or thirty men on either side were slain, between Roherâ and Poseenâ; at length the Thâkor of Poseenâ stepped between the combatants, and an arrangement was effected. Kuleeân Mul was succeeded, at his death, by his son, Row Jugunnâth.

CHAPTER IX

THE SHRINE OF UMBÂ BHUWÂNEE.—DÂNTÂ

Immense of bulk, her towering head she shews,
Her floating tresses seem to touch the skies,
Dark mists her unsubstantial shape compose,
And on the mountain's top her dwelling lies.
As when the clouds fantastic shapes disclose,
For ever varying to the gazer's eyes,
Till on the breeze the changeful hues escape,
Thus vague her form, and mutable her shape.
Illusive beings round their sovereign wait,
Deceitful dreams, and auguries, and lies,
Innumerous arts the gaping crowd that cheat,
Predictions wild, and groundless prophecies;
With wondrous words, or written rolls of fate,
Foretelling—when 'tis past—what yet shall rise;
And alchymy, and astrologic skill,
And fond conjecture—always formed at will.
Lorenzo De Medici, translated by WILLIAM ROSCOE.

THE temple of Umbâ Bhuwânee lies embosomed among the hills of Ârâsoor, at the south-western termination of the Ârâwullee range. From Unhilwârâ and the sacred Sidhpoor, the river Suruswutee may be followed up to its source, at Kotheshwur Muhâ Dev, near Umbâjee, through a wild, but picturesque, and fertile valley, upon which the forest-covered hills gradually close. Beside this lonely streamlet, when evening darkens around him, adding to the mysterious gloom of the untracked jungle, the lair of the hyaena and the tiger, with the dusky, unclothed forms of the children of the forest around him, and the harsh and wooden rattle of their drums, sounding from some distant village, the stranger need tax his imagination little to realize to himself his dreams of the fetish-haunted banks of African Niger. Nor long, perchance, before a strange illumination lightens up the scene. The Bheel is offering his rude lustration to the mountain under whose form he worships the

goddess of his faith ; and flames, feeding on the dry brushwood, creep from hill to hill, slowly undulating like a huge fiery serpent, and recalling the imagery of the Psalmist,—'as the 'stubble before the wind, as the fire burneth the wood, and 'as the flame setteth the mountains on fire.'

Small bands of worshippers arrive daily at the temple of Umbâjee, from the whole surrounding country, and even from remote parts of India ; but the great Sunghs, or caravans, approach it three times a year, and principally in the month of Bhâdrapud, during the rainy season, on the birthday of the Goddess. Not seldom from even Europeanized Bombay,—its air dusty with commerce, its waters white with many a western sail,—from beneath the shadow of the Cathedral which bears the name of the great Eastern Apostle, perhaps from the very precincts of the Court where ermined judges sit to administer the strange law of a foreign land—a land whose shadowy form, if ever it rise before his mental vision, looms far beyond the horizon which his hereditary faith has drawn around this mortal scene—the Hindoo pilgrim, quitting, as it were, a phantom-peopled world, for one, to him more real, measures, with penitential feet, the toilsome road to Ârâsoor.

The sacred caravan, which is usually very numerous, is entertained at whatever spot it makes its nightly halt, by members of it who have bound themselves by vows to consecrate sums of money to the service of 'the mother.' The last halt is at Dântâ,* a small town nestling at the base of wild and rocky hills, at which reside the Purmâr chieftains who have been the most favoured followers of 'the illustrious Umbâ.' From thence the ascent to the shrine is lengthened, and for the most part very gradual, though occasionally sufficiently steep and rugged—for no human hand may smooth the difficulties which obstruct the pathway to Doorgâ's throne. Proceeding along this varied route, the holy band shining in the bright sun-light, with scarlet, and white, and yellow, with glittering steel, and softer gold, exhibits a gallant show ; now traceable in lengthened, winding line upon the broken plain, now partly hidden by many coloured rocks, or concealed from view by the tangled forest's shade. At a place called 'the well of Nânâbhâee,' about half-way up the steepest portion of the ascent, the

Sungh makes a temporary halt; and on quitting this spot, it soon emerges from amidst the gloomy rocks, and reaching more open ground, begins to scent the perfumed breezes of Ârâsoor. By-and-by a shout from the head of the line of march proclaims that the temple is in sight. Then, dismounting from their horses, or descending from their litters, the whole pilgrim band prostrate themselves upon the ground, and as they rise again, the hills re-echo with their cries of, 'Conquer! Umbâ, 'Mother!'—'Victory to the illustrious Umbâ!

The temple itself is small and much surpassed by many a less venerated fane; it is surrounded by a fortified wall, inclosing buildings occupied by the priests and servants of the Goddess, or tenanted by her pilgrim worshippers; it contains also a garrison, but that she may not be thought to owe the inviolability of her dwelling to any aid from an arm of flesh, Umbâ Mother has refused to permit the erection of an external door. It is Doorgâ, the daughter of Hemâchul and Meenâ, the consort of the mighty Shiva, who is worshipped in this shrine; not, as in her storm-rocked temple on the hill of Châmpâner, under the shape of the blood-delighting Kâlee, but rather in the milder and more mysterious form of an Isis or a Cybele, as Bhuwânee, the active expression of the self-existent principle, and as Umbâjee, the Mother of Creation.

The Shrine of Ârâsoor lays claim to the most remote antiquity. Here, it is said, was offered in vicarious sacrifice the hair of the infant Shree Krishn, and here, in after days, his bride, Rookmunee, worshipped Devee, when he bore her from the threatened embrace of Shishoopâl. The threshold has been worn away by the feet of the pilgrims of many a century. The worshippers, when they are admitted to a sight of the idol, lay before it offerings of garments, money, or jewels. They present also, among other articles, cocoa-nuts, as vicarious offerings, instead of the lives of themselves or of their friends.[1]

[1] The reason why the cocoa-nut is constantly employed by Hindoos to represent a human being, is to be found in the strange story of Vishwâmitra. That saint, it is said, in imitation of Brumhâ's creative power, produced, himself, several sorts of grain—he also formed a cocoa-nut tree, and at length began to create men growing out of this tree, commencing with their heads. Brumhâ, fearful that his occupation of creating would

The most solemn worship is performed on the eighth night of the Nowrâttra, when the Rânâ of Dântâ, in person, celebrates fire-sacrifice before the Ârâsooree Mother, and fills with sweetmeats a large cauldron, which the wild Bheels of the mountain empty on a signal the Goddess gives, by letting fall from off her neck her garland of flowers. The same chief receives the pilgrim-tax and the duties levied for the protection of caravans. If a Thâkor arrive as a worshipper, the best horse in his suite must be presented to the Rânâ. He removes also the whole of the offerings which are made by the pilgrims during their stay at the shrine, and which consist of vestments, banners, vessels of the precious metals, bells, and other necessaries for the service of the temple. Seven silver clogs stand continually before the idol.[1]

Notwithstanding the more beneficent form in which the goddess here appears, she receives the sacrifice of animals which are slain before her image, and also offerings of spirituous liquors. The use of oil is forbidden in the service of the temple, nor may it be employed by a worshipper as long as his pilgrimage lasts. The lamps which illuminate the shrine, and those which are waved before the idol are supplied with clarified butter. The Rânâ of Dântâ, when present at the evening worship, himself fans the goddess with a 'châmur' of horse-hair, but the ordinary officiating priests are three in number—Owdich Brahmins of Sidhpoor, who farm their office, paying a revenue to the Rânâ. It is their duty to mark pilgrims with the chândlo on the forehead, at the commencement of the pilgrimage, and with a red hand,* on the shoulder, at its termination; they are feed by the worshippers according to their means, and sometimes, it is said, refuse the indispensable mark of dismissal until their claims are satisfied.

In a temple to 'the Invincible Mother,' on the edge of a reservoir near the principal shrine, called Mânsurowur, is an

be taken from him, worshipped the saint, who thereupon consented to desist, but, in commemoration of his exploit, permanently affixed the human heads to the tree, under the form of its fruit.

[1] The numbers three, five, and seven, are considered auspicious by the Hindoos, and particularly the two latter. They represent heaven, earth, and hell; the five elements; and the seven Sages.

inscription of the Muhâ Rânâ Shree Mâl Dev, dated Sumwut, 1415 (A. D. 1359). At the door of the adytum of the temple of Umbâjee, is a tablet which records offerings made in Sumwut, 1601 (A. D. 1545) by the Rânee of Row Bârmul, of Eedur, probably on the death of her husband. There are several other inscriptions on the pillars of the temple, principally of the sixteenth century, recording the gifts of private individuals, and one dated in Sumwut, 1779 (A. D. 1723), when 'the lord of the land, Râj Adheerâj Rânâjee, Shree one 'hundred and eight times repeated, Shree Pruteesunghjee,' was ruling, states, that a wâneeâ family built a dhurum-sâlâ, or house of accommodation for pilgrims, 'for the sake of a 'son,' and adds 'by the kindness of Umbâ, the hope was 'fulfilled.'

The Rows of Seerohee, whose territory approaches the shrine of Umbâjee, once held a share in its revenues, but subsequently resigned it, on the ground, it is said, that Gosâees alone can with credit receive the offerings made at a temple. A daughter of Dântâ was once married to a bridegroom of the house of Seerohee. She proceeded to the house of her father-in-law, dressed in a scarf, which, as ill luck would have it, had been presented to the goddess by one of her bridegroom's family. Her husband therefore declared that as she wore the mother's dress, he could henceforth regard her only as a mother to him. The lady was compelled to return home,

Widowed wife and wedded maid,

and from that time a rule was made that the daughters of Dântâ should abstain from the use of garments which had been offered to Umbâjee.

About two miles to the west of the temple of Umbâ Bhuwânee, is a hill upon which a fortress was formerly situated called Gubbur-gurh. The rocks there form themselves, when seen from a distance, into the semblance of a huge arched portal, a fact which, perhaps, gave rise to the legend that Mother Umbâjee keeps her state in the hollow of the hill. 'At one time,' it is said, 'a cow belonging to the Mâtâjee 'used to graze with the shepherds' cattle all day, and return 'into the hill at night time. A cowherd wondered whose the

'cow could be, and gradually came to the determination 'that he would, at all risks, discover the owner, and claim 'from him his fee. One evening, when the cow set off as 'usual homewards, the cowherd followed, and with it entered 'the hill. He found himself in the interior of a splendid 'palace, full of magnificent apartments. In the principal hall 'the Mâtâjee herself appeared, reclining on a swinging couch, 'and surrounded by numerous female attendants. The cow- 'herd, mustering up courage, approached her, and enquired 'whether the cow was hers. She answered in the affirmative, 'and the cowherd was encouraged to continue. He said that 'the animal had been tended by him for twelve years, and 'that he had now come for his fee. Mâtâ Umbâjee directed 'one of her maidens to give him some of a heap of barley 'that lay upon the ground. The servant took up a winnowing 'fan full of the grain, and presented it to the cowherd. He 'took it, and went out disappointed and angry, and as he passed 'the threshold he threw the barley from him. On reaching 'home, however, he discovered some grains of the finest 'gold adhering to his dress. The cowherd attempted next 'day to regain the entrance of the hill, but was unable to 'discover it, nor did the Mâtâjee's cow ever again make its 'appearance.'

A more modern legend is attached to another hill hard by. 'A few years ago, a cultivator belonging to the Seerohee 'country went from home to find a purchaser for a pair of 'bullocks. As he wandered about a gosâee met with him 'who said, "If you will follow me, I will enable you to dispose 'of your bullocks." The cultivator accordingly followed the 'ascetic, who led him, taking his bullocks with him, into a 'cave in the side of the hill. After proceeding onwards for 'some distance within the cave, they came at last to a magni- 'ficent hall, with a large stable beside it, in which many 'horses were stalled. There were many men at work there, 'too, making armor for men and armor for horses, and 'weapons, guns, and other warlike stores; there were also 'piles of cannon balls, and heaps of musket bullets. The 'gosâee now asked the cultivator what price he expected for 'his bullocks, and, having ascertained it, brought the sum

'demanded from the hall, and gave it to him. Then the 'cultivator asked, "Whose mansion is this, and whose stores 'are these, and who lives here?" The gosâee said, "You 'shall know of this two years hence. These stores are for 'war with the English government." The cultivator returned 'home, and made known in his village what he had seen. 'Other people of the village, then, taking the cultivator with 'them, went to see the cave, but it was nowhere to be found.'[1]

[1] Traditions, similar to these, are to be met with in all countries. The Eniheriar dwell in Valhalla, and at the destruction of the world are, under the guidance of Odin, to come forth again in arms. King Arthur rests in the Isle of Avalon awaiting his destined time for the overthrow of his enemies. Frederic Barbarossa sleeps in the Kiffhaüser, in Thuringia, until the hour of his deliverance strikes, and a better time ensues, which will be, it is said, when the ravens no longer fly round the mountain, and an old withered worn-out pear-tree on the Rüthsfeld again sends out shoots, and bears foliage and blossoms. In the Wunderberg, near Salzburg, dwells the great emperor, Charlemagne, with golden crown and sceptre, attended by knights and lords. His grey beard has twice encompassed the table at which he sits, and when it has the third time grown round it, the end of the world and the appearance of Antichrist will take place. The Jaloff inhabitants of the mainland of Africa, opposite the isle of Goree, believe in a species of beings called Yumboes, who resemble the Gothic fairies. Their chief abode is a subterraneous dwelling in the Paps, the hills about three miles from the coast. Here they dwell in great magnificence, and many wonderful stories are told of those persons, particularly Europeans, who have been received and entertained in the subterranean residence of the Yumboes; of how they were placed at richly furnished tables; how nothing but hands and feet were to be seen, which laid and removed the various dishes; of the numerous stories the underground abode consisted of; the modes of passing from one to the other without stairs, &c. &c. As to gifts made on such occasions, and rejected, compare the following story:

'A dwarf came down one night from the chesnut woods on the side of the 'mountain over the village of Walchwyl (in Switzerland), and enquired 'for the house of a midwife, whom he earnestly pressed to come out, and 'go with him. She consented, and the dwarf, bearing a light, led the way 'in silence to the woods. He stopped at last before a cleft in a rock, at which 'they entered, and the woman suddenly found herself in a magnificent 'hall. She was thence led through several rich apartments to the chamber 'of state, where the queen of the dwarfs, for whom her services were 'required, was lying. She performed her office, and brought a fair young 'prince to the light. She was thanked, and dismissed, and her former 'conductor appeared to lead her home. As he was taking leave of her, he 'filled her apron with something, bidding her on no account to look at it 'till she was in her own house. But the woman could not control her

Near Umbâjee, beside a rivulet, and among natural shrubberies of wild jasmine and other scented flowers, is a little village founded by Koombho Rânâ, of Cheetor, and called after his name, Koombhâreea. Beside it are some handsome white marble temples of the Jain faith, constructed by Veemul Shâ. 'The Mâtâ,' as the legend relates, 'gave much wealth 'to Veemul Shâ, and he constructed here three hundred and 'sixty temples to Pârusnâth. The Mâtâjee asked him by 'whose aid he had built them ; he said, by the aid of his 'spiritual preceptor. She repeated the same question thrice, 'and each time received the same answer. She then said to 'him, "escape as quickly as you can." The Shâ fled into the 'crypt below one of the temples which is connected with the 'crypts of those at Dailwârâ, and travelling by the subter-'ranean passage, emerged upon Mount Aboo. Then the Mâtâjee 'consumed all the temples by fire, with the exception of five, 'which she left as witnesses to the tale, and the calcined stones 'of those which were destroyed may still be seen strewed over 'the ground.' This legend probably contains a certain amount of truth, in as far as it relates the destruction of temples founded on the spot by Veemul Shâ, through a volcanic agency which has evidently at some time or other been very active throughout the hills of Ârâsoor. The Shâ himself seems to have fully believed that his loss was occasioned by the vengeance of Shree Umbâjee, for the inscription on the temple which he subsequently founded at Dailwârâ, of Aboo, contains the following stanzas in propitiation of that goddess :—

'IX. Thou whose leaf-like hands are red as the leaves of

'curiosity, and the moment the dwarf disappeared, she partly opened 'the apron, and lo ! there was nothing in it but some black coals. In a 'rage she shook them out on the ground, but she kept two of them in her 'hands, as a proof of the shabby treatment she had met with from the 'dwarfs. On reaching home, she threw them also down on the ground. 'Her husband cried out with joy and surprise, for they shone like 'carbuncles. She asserted that the dwarf had put nothing but coals into 'her apron ; but she ran out to call a neighbour, who knew more of such 'things than they did, and he, on examining them, pronounced them to be 'precious stones of very great value. The woman immediately ran back 'to where she had shaken out the supposed coals, but they were all gone.' *Vide* Keightley's *Fairy Mythology* ; Thorpe's *Northern Mythology*, &c.

'the Ushok * tree, thou who appearest in resplendent beauty, 'borne in a carriage drawn by Keshree-Singhs, thou who 'bearest two children in thy lap, such in person, Sutee 'Umbeekâ, destroy the calamities of virtuous men!

'X. Once on a time to that viceroy at night-time, Umbeekâ 'the wise gave this order—"Upon this mountain do you 'erect a good temple for Yoogâdee Nâth, a place pure from 'sin."

'XI. When one thousand and eighty-eight autumns had 'passed since the time of Shree Vikrumâdit (A. D. 1032) on 'Urbood's summit, Shree Âdee Dev was by Shree Veemul 'seated. Him I worship.'

Among more modern inscriptions in the temple of Nemeenâth, at Koombhâreea, occurs one, dated Sumwut, 1305 (A. D. 1249), recording additions to the edifice made by Brumh Dev, the son of Châhud, the minister of Koomâr Pâl Solunkhee, who, as is here mentioned, 'at the village of Pâdpurâ, caused 'to be erected the temple called Oondeer Wusâheekâ.'[1]

On a pâleeyo close by is another interesting record, dated Sumwut, 1256 (A. D.1200), which states, that 'Shree Dhârâ- 'wursh Dev, the lord of Urgood, the thorn to all Munduleeks 'upon whom the sun shines,' constructed a well 'in this city 'of Ârâsanâpoor.'

From these particulars, relating to the shrine of their patron goddess we now turn to the story of the race of Rânâ Wâgh, the Purmârs, of Dântâ, and Tursunghmo.

Ruvpâljee Purmâr was the fortieth in descent from Vikrum. He went on a pilgrimage to Dwârkâ, and thence was on his way to Kutch. He had a vow neither to eat nor drink without having first worshipped Mâtâ Umbeekâ, on which account she was pleased, and permitted him to behold her, and promised to grant whatever boon he might ask. He asked for the throne of Nuggur Tatta and the rule over Sindh, which the goddess granted to him; and he erected three royal seats, at Nuggur Tatta, Bâmunoowâ,† and Belâ. Twelfth in descent from Ruv-

[1] Or 'the Rat's temple.' It is mentioned in the Prubundh Chintâmunee, that Koomâr Pâl caused a temple of this name to be constructed in commemoration of the injury he had inflicted on a rat, by taking away its pieces of silver. *Vide* p. 175.

pâljee was Dâmojee, who, having no Koonwur, made vows to Umbâjee for the purpose of obtaining one. The Goddess drew blood from her own finger, and, with this, and dust from her body, produced a prince, to whom she ordered the name of Jus Râj to be given. She also declared that she had created him that he might protect the place where she was worshipped. Nuggur Tatta was, in this reign, invaded by the Mohummedans, who, after a struggle of nine years' duration, took the city, and slew Raja Dâmojee. Koonwur Jus Râj, however, continued the contest, and recovered the city.

Raja Jus Râj, also, was a devoted servant of Umbâjee, and received great strength from the goddess. In his reign, however, the Mohummedans again returned, and, making wells with the bones of animals, and perpetrating other Mlechisms, so polluted the land, that Umbâjee said to Raja Jus Râj, 'I 'have no pleasure in remaining here any longer ; I will retire 'to my dwelling which is at Ârâsoor.' The raja said, 'I am 'your servant, wherever you go I will follow.' She listened to his prayer, and said, 'It is well ! Come with me, and I will 'give you the throne of that country.' So saying, she vanished. Jus Râj after this again engaged the Mohummedans, but was defeated, and lost Nuggur Tatta. He then, taking his family with him, went to the Mâtâjee, at Ârâsoor. Umbâjee gave him the tiger upon which she rides, and said to him, 'Seat 'yourself upon this tiger, and make a circuit—whatever ter-'ritory you encircle shall be yours.' The raja did so, and made the circuit of seven hundred and sixty villages. On the south he included the Doturso Puttâ, as far as Kherâloo ; on the north-east the territory up to Koturâ ; on the east as far as Derol ; on the north the country up to the Bhârjâ's well, which is in the lands of Seerohee ; on the south-east he went as far as Gudwârâ ; on the north-west as far as the village of Hâtheedurâ. He found buried treasure in the Bhundhâro hill, which people now called 'Gubbur,' with which he raised an army, and went to Nuggur Tatta to take revenge for his father. Jus Râj drove the Mohummedans out of the city, and slew many of them ; he remained in that country until his death, but his Koonwur was all this time at Gubbur-gurh with the Mâtâjee.

Jus Râj's son, Kedâr Singh, or Keshree Singh, fought

with Tursungeeâ Bheel, who reigned at Tursunghmo, and, having slain him, removed to that place his royal seat which had been before at Gubbur-gurh. Kedâr Singh's son was named Juspâl, or Koolpâl. He attempted to perform a great sacrifice at Rorâ village, but the attempt failed, and the Brahmin who was employed was so mortified that he threw himself into the fire pit, and perished, having laid a curse upon the race of Juspâl, that they should have no power of providing for the future, but should always lose their opportunity, and then repent.[1] Several generations after this, in the time of Rânâ Jugut Pâl, the army of Allah-ood-deen Khoonee took Tursunghmo. The Rânâ went and entreated the Mâtâjee's assistance, who told him to fight again the next day ; he did so, and won Tursunghmo back again. Sixth in descent from Jugut Pâl was Kânur Dev, whose brother, Âmbojee, seized upon the puttâ of Koturâ. Kânur Dev had two Rânees ; to one of them, Râm Koonwuree, a Jhâleejee of Hulwud, the Doturso, or Kherâloo puttâ, was assigned for her subsistence. The Rânee lived there with her Koonwur Meghjee, and built the eastern door of Kherâloo, and a well and tank, which are to this day known as 'the Jhâlees.' The second wife was Rutun Koonwuree, a Seesodunee, of Oodeipoor, who founded Rohilpoor Puttun, now called Rorâ. The raja went to Oodeipoor to be married a third time to the Rânee Lâl Koonwuree Seesodunee. As he returned with her, his brother, Âmbojee, of Koturâ, was anxious to entertain the bridal party, but Kânur Dev was not inclined to stay. Then Âmbojee spoke humbly to Rânee Lâl Koonwuree, and said, 'There has been a quarrel between us two brothers about the 'puttâ, if this be not reconciled now that you are come, when 'shall it be reconciled ?' The Rânee then persuaded her husband, and it was agreed that they should stay there. When the time for dinner came, the two brothers sat down to dine together. Suddenly Âmbojee got up, and, striking Kânur Dev a blow on the head with his sword, ran upstairs. Kânur Dev rushed after him, and, catching him by his dress, gave him

[1] The present Rânâ Jhâlum Singh makes the following comment upon this story :—'Yes ! that curse remained in force up to the time of my 'uncle Jugut Singh.'

twenty-one wounds with his dagger, so that he died. Thus both brothers were slain. The newly-married Rânee became a sutee in the same place, and a funeral pavilion was built over her remains. The Jhâlee Rânee also became a sutee at her father's house at Hulwud.

When Rânâ Kânur Dev set out for Oodeipoor, his two sons, Meghjee and Wâghjee, were left with their mother's family at Hulwud, while Tursunghmo was entrusted to a Khuwâs of the Rânâ's named Mâroo Râwut. The Row Bhân of Eedur had married the daughter of Âmbojee, and when he heard of the death of the two brothers, he collected a force, and went to Tursunghmo, which he took, and seizing Mâroo Râwut, carried him to Eedur. The Row left a garrison at Tursunghmo. Opposite to the palace at Eedur there is a prison, into which the Row thrust Mâroo Râwut, and every day he used to amuse himself, by sitting at the window, and ridiculing him in every possible way. At last the Khuwâs made answer, 'Row, you 'have seized upon the principality, because the Koonwurs are 'infants, but do not suppose there is no one to help. A tiger 'even, when he's caged, can do nothing; but if you were to let 'me out, I would cause this palace of yours to be dug up, and 'thrown into the Rorâ Hurnâv river.' The Row was enraged when he heard this, and cried to the guard, 'Turn that dog 'out!' However, the Row's Rânee, Âmbojee's daughter, knew of the exploits that Mâroo Râwut had performed, so she would not permit that he should be let out of the prison. Another day, when she was not present, the Row released him. He remained two days at Kulnâth Muhâ Dev's, and then went to Hulwud. As he sat beside a tank, a Wudhârun, or female slave, of the Rânee Jhâlee's suite, came there for water, through whom he made his story known. The raja sent for him, and soon afterwards Mâroo Râwut, with the two Koonwurs and a large sum of money, were on their way to Ahmedabad. Mâroo first saw the padishah's minister, and arranged matters with him; then he took the two Koonwurs, one on each hip, and, with a brazier of lighted coals on his head, went to make his complaint to the padishah. When the padishah saw him, he said, 'The children will be burned, put them down.' Both the Koonwurs then cried out with a loud voice, 'Sahib! when

'we have got down where shall we stand? The Eedur Row has 'seized possession of our own ground, and this is the padishah's 'ground, if we get down upon it, we shall make an enemy of him.' The padishah told them to take courage, and having caused them to be set down, and made himself acquainted with their story, was pleased to send an army against Eedur, on the agreement that the Koonwurs should pay him ten thousand pounds as an offering. The army advanced, and encamped near Eedur. Row Bhân then said to the leader of the army, 'I am ready to pay to the padishah whatever offering these 'Tursunghmo people have agreed to pay; so do you take your 'army back again.' But the Mohummedan said, 'I have the 'padishah's orders, and must act up to them.' Row Bhân upon this fled with his family, and the army struck Eedur, and cast the Row's palace down to the ground. Then Mâroo Râwut said, 'I will give a gold mohur to every one who will 'take a stone from hence, and throw it into the Hurnâv.' Many of the soldiers, therefore, took stones and piled them beside the Hurnâv, and with these was built the temple of Shâmlâjee, which is upon the banks of the river, near the village of Gudhâ. From thence the army went on to Tursunghmo; the Eedur garrison abandoned the place, and fled, and it was restored to a prosperous state, and made over to the Koonwur. Then the leader of the army said to Mâroo Râwut, 'Now produce the money which you promised.' Mâroo answered, 'I have no money here, my treasure is in the hills 'of Soodâsunâ: if you will come thither, I will pay you the 'money.' So saying, he put the Koonwurs under the care of Mâtâ Umbâjee, and set out himself with the army. He caused the army to encamp at the Wursungh tank, which is between Tembâ and Bhâtwâs, in Gudwârâ; he then said, 'I 'will go and get out the treasure, and bring it.' So saying, he went into the Soodâsunâ hills, and there lay concealed. The Mohummedans for a day or two waited for him, but as he did not come they set out to look for him. However they could not find him. At length he sent to the commander of the army, and said, 'if you will give me a hostage, I will come in 'and settle the matter with you.' Having received a hostage, the Râwut came into the encampment, and said, 'I have not got

'the money, but here is this Kherâloo district, I will mortgage 'it to the padishah, and whenever I can pay the money the 'district shall be released.' Thus saying, he passed a deed of mortgage for the Kherâloo district, but retained 'wântâ' lands in several villages.

In the time of Âskurunjee Rânâ, one of Akbar's shahzâdas fled from Delhi, having committed some offence. He went to Oodeipoor, Jeipoor, and other places in Râjwârâ; but found no one to shelter him. At last he came to Tursunghmo. Âskurunjee offered him shelter, and he remained there, and built a fortress upon the hill called Kâlwân, which is north of Tursunghmo about three miles. One day when the shahzâda was very much pleased with the Rânâ, he began to give him his ring, which was of great value, and set with precious stones; but the Rânâ said, 'I will not take it now, when your 'highness's affairs are arranged, and you go hence in peace, I 'will receive whatever you may choose to offer.' His servants, however, told the Rânâ that he had made a mistake, for that princes' minds were not always the same, and that he should have taken the opportunity while he had it. Then the Rânâ recollected the Brahmin's curse upon his ancestor—that the lords of Tursunghmo should never have a provident mind. Next day he went to the shahzâda, and said, 'Will your high-'ness give me the ring which you were going to give me?' but the prince replied, 'When I am going I will give it.' However, he went away to the west without giving it, and Bârmul Row, of Bhooj, seized him, and sent him to the padishah, at Delhi; for which service Row Bârmul got the Moorbee district.[1] Afterwards, when the padishah and the shahzâda were on good terms again, the padishah asked him who they were that had given him shelter, and who that had entertained him hospitably. He said 'Âskurunjee, of Tur-'sunghmo, was the only one who sheltered me or treated me 'with hospitality.' The padishah, when he heard this, sent Âskurunjee a dress of honour, and the title of Muhâ Rânâ. The shahzâda also sent the before-mentioned ring, which was set

[1] This is probably, an incorrect allusion to the story related at p. 375. The 'shahzada' would then be Sultan Moozuffer III., of Ahmedabad.

with diamonds worth a large sum of money. Âskurunjee left three sons—Wâgh, Jeimul, and Pertâp Singh.

In the time of Rânâ Wâgh, the two Rânees of Row Kuleeân Mul, of Eedur (that is to say) Bhânwuntee, of Oodeipoor, and Veenuyâmuntee Jhârejee, of Bhooj, used to come every Monday to worship at the temple of Muhâ Dev, at Brumh Kheir.[1] That place is called Bhrigoo-kshetra, the Hurnâv river is there, and Rânâ Wâgh claimed it as his boundary line—as the couplet says—

> I am Rânâ Wâgh,
> And up to the Hurnâv is my bhâg.

Some one told Rânâ Wâgh that the Eedur Row's Rânees were very beautiful, and so he determined he would see them. He dressed himself like a Brahmin, and went with the Brahmins, one Monday, to Bhrigoo-kshetra. The Rânees, after worshipping Muhâ Dev, made marks on the Brahmins' foreheads, and gave them alms. Among the rest, they marked Rânâ Wâgh and offered him alms, which he refused to receive. They asked him what was the reason for his refusal. He said he had taken a vow at Benares that he would not receive alms from any one. The Rânees went away, and the Rânâ also returned ; but the matter came to the knowledge of Row Kuleeân Mul. The Row then entered into an alliance with Jeimul, Rânâ Wâgh's brother, whom he kept with him at Eedur. He also entertained Vegurno Jemâdâr, a Nâgur Brahmin, who had lost caste, and become a Mohummedan ; but had quarrelled with the padishah, and leaving Ahmedabad, had come to Eedur. The Row promised to entrust to this officer the village of Wurâlee, if he would seize Rânâ Wâgh, and give him up to him. Vegurno agreeing, went to take charge of Wurâlee, and laid himself out to be the best of friends with Rânâ Wâgh. Once on a time the Jemâdâr invited Rânâ Wâgh to drink opium with him at the ford of Lânk, on the Sâbhermutee. The Rânâ went there, taking two horsemen with him. Munjee Wâchâwut, Thâkor of Deepuree, one of the Rânâ's sirdârs, thought with himself, that the Rânâ, setting out alone that day, would surely be

[1] The account here given is the Dântâ version of the story, as that given at p. 392 is the Eedur version of it. Each has been translated literally.

made prisoner, so he went to remonstrate with him. The sage's curse, however, lay on the family, so the Rânâ could not see beforehand, to provide against the danger. He not only persisted in going, but desired Munjee Wâchâwut not to accompany him. The Thâkor, however, was so impressed with the danger, that he followed him at a distance. Rânâ Wâgh reached the ford of Lânk, and feasted with Vegurno and drank liquor. After that, Vegurno's men seized him; one of his followers was slain, and the other escaped. Munjee Thâkor came to the rescue, and killed one or two men with his spear, but was then slain. The Jemâdâr carried the Rânâ to Wurâlee, and threw him into prison, and wrote off to the Row to say, 'I have seized Rânâ Wâgh, do you, therefore, confine 'his brother Jeimul.' When the Row received the letter, he was playing at draughts with Jeimul in an upper room, and below, at the foot of the stairs, a Rajpoot named Sâloo Bhoot, Thâkor of Châmpoo and Khâpurethâ, was seated. The messenger, going to him, said, 'Where is the Row? I have 'brought this letter from Murâlee.' The Thâkor said, 'What 'is the letter about? you need not fear to tell me, for I am one 'of the Row's servants.' The messenger said, 'The letter is 'about the capture of Rânâ Wâgh.' Then Sâloo Bhoot said, 'The Row is lying down, sit you here till I go and take a 'look. If he be awake, I will call you; but if he be asleep, 'and you wake him by talking too suddenly, he will be 'angry.' So saying, he made him sit down, and going upstairs, stood behind the Row and in front of Jeimul, and drawing a knife across his throat, made signs to the latter that the Row would take off his head; Jeimul not understanding this signal, the Thâkor made signs to him to come downstairs. Then Jeimul understood, and, making a pretence for his absence, went below. Sâloo Bhoot told him what had happened, and he went home to his lodging, and, mounting his horse, galloped off, northwards, towards Bâleshee (Mhow). He kept his horse at full speed for twenty miles, so that when he reached the gate of the village of Âkordeeâ, the horse dropped. Jeimul went into the village on foot, and took shelter with a Chârun, named Wurjâng Bâdooâ. Wurjâng's son, Sudhoojee, asked what had happened, and who he was.

Jeimuljee said, 'The Row's men are pursuing me; therefore, 'if you can protect me, do so; if not, forward me on to some 'distant place.' The Chârun said, 'I will protect you with 'my head; but though I die the Row will not quit you. Do 'you, therefore, take the better of these two mares, and make 'your escape; and when you get back to your country, think 'of me.' Then Jeimul took the mare, Keshur, and fled, and got safe to Kherâloo.

Now the Row, having received the letter from the messenger, and read it, sent in pursuit of Jeimul. When the pursuers got to Âkordeeâ, and saw the horse lying dead, they felt sure that the fugitive was in the village. They went to the Chârun's house, and made great uproar there, saying, 'Give up our 'thief to us.' The Chârun said, 'He has deceived me and fled, taking my mare with him. I don't know who he is.' The pursuers went after him to the distance of twenty or five-and-twenty miles, and then returned to Eedur.

Jeimul assembled men in the Kherâloo district, and went to Tursunghmo, of which he took possession, and began to collect stores there. Meanwhile Row Kuleeân Mul came thither with an army. A battle took place, and the Row, being unsuccessful, returned to Eedur. The dispute with the Row lasted a long time. There were in the Rânâ's service two brothers, Mehepo and Râjdhur, Thâkors of Muhâwud, and the Koolee Thâkor of Wujâsunâ, named Depo, who had eighty men. This Depo asked permission to make an attack upon Eedur, which was granted him. He placed his followers in little hamlets in the Eedur country, and went himself, with two or three men to Eedur. At this time some actors were playing before the Row, in his court. The Thâkor went, and sat down among the lookers on, and ascertained that the Row's brother, Keshuvdâs, was present. The daughter of this Keshuvdâs was throwing pebbles, from the window, at Rânâ Wâgh, and when they struck him on the head, he uttered something like a cry, upon which all present, actors and spectators, laughed. The Rânâ Wâgh said, 'I shall never be 'at peace in another world unless my heir, whoever he be, 'cause this woman to weep.' Depo Thâkor was very much grieved when he saw the Rânâ suffering such affliction. Now

when the play was finished, they brought the plate round; then Depo took the gold armlet off his arm and threw it in. The actors said, 'Who is it that gives this, whose fame shall 'we celebrate?' but Depo made no answer. Then the by-standers said, 'Some drunken fellow has given it; but what 'business is that of yours, the Supreme Being has given it to 'you.' Afterwards they brought round the plate again; then the Thâkor gave the other armlet. It was now midnight. At this time the Row's brother, Keshuvdâs, went out. Depo followed him, and struck the torch out of the hand of the torch-bearer who was with him. He then stabbed Keshuvdâs, and, cutting off his head, made his escape with it. Then there arose a cry of 'The Row's brother has been murdered! The Row's brother 'has been murdered!' The girl, before-mentioned, now began to weep, and beat her breast, and Rânâ Wâgh, when he heard this, immediately killed himself. As long as the Rânâ was alive, the Row used daily to say to him, 'If you 'will pass a deed assigning some of your villages to me, I will 'release you;' but the Rânâ would never agree to this, and only answered—

'I am Rânâ Wâgh,
'And up to the Hurnâv is my bhâg.'

Now, Depo, as soon as he had got clear off, set fire to a hill, upon which his men, posted in different places, directly they saw the glare, set fire also to the villages they were in.

Afterwards, Depo came to Tursunghmo, and having made obeisance to Jeimul, said, 'Umbâjee Mâtâ has preserved my honor.' Jeimul gave him the village of Bheemâl. Depo's descendants are still to be found at Wujâsunâ, in the position of cultivators. Rânâ Jugut Singh took back the village of Bheemâl from the family, but left them a fourth share of it, which they still hold.

The Row sent for the Chârun, Bâdooâ Sudhoojee, and said, 'You caused my thief to escape, therefore you shall not remain 'in my country.' When Rânâ Jeimul heard of this, he sent for that Chârun to Tursunghmo, gave him the village of Pâneeâlee, and, making him his family-bard, kept him near himself.[1]

[1] The Chârun from whom this account was derived is a descendant of Sudhoojee's, and holds a sixteenth share of the village of Pâneeâlee.

Now the two Gudheeâs, Mehepo and Râjdhur, who were in the service of Rânâ Jeimul, asked for a few days' leave, and set off homewards. Meanwhile they came to the river, at the gate of the village of Gothurâ, when a shepherd came out with some goats; they asked him whose the goats were; he answered that they belonged to the Rânâ. They said, 'We belong to the Rânâ, too, so give us one of the goats.' The shepherd refusing, they took one by force, and killed it. Then he went to Tursunghmo, and complained to the Rânâ, that the Gudheeâs, though warned not to do so, had taken one of the goats by force, and killed it. The Rânâ when he heard this said, 'These people are getting very proud, they 'must be looked after.' Some friend of theirs wrote this information to the Gudheeâs, and told them that if they came back without making a thorough arrangement they would be put to death. Upon this the Gudheeâs remained six months at home idle; at the end of this time the Rânâ summoned them. They said they had not confidence in the Rânâ, but that they would come if they received Bâdooâ Sudhoojee's security. The servant came back with this message, upon which the Rânâ called his minister, and assembled his sirdârs, upon whose advice he sent off a letter giving Sudhoojee's security unknown to the Chârun. When they read this letter, the Gudheeâs, Mehepo and Râjdhur, came to Tursunghmo, and put up at a garden at the gate of the town, preparatory to presenting themselves to the Rânâ. Then Bâdooâ Sudhoojee went to pay them a visit, in the course of which he observed, 'It is a very good thing that you, master and servants, are at 'one again.' They said, 'Yes, but it was only on receiving 'your letter of security that we came.' Sudhoojee answered that he knew not a word of any security; upon which they showed him the letter. He repeated that he knew nothing of the matter, and said that they had better determine upon what they were to do at once. The two brothers then made up a plan between them, and the younger soon after set off, pretending that he had quarrelled with the elder. All the people then surrounded the elder brother, and said that he should go, and make up with his brother, and bring him back. Mehepo accordingly mounted his horse, and set off under

pretence of bringing Râjdhur back again, and when they came together, they shook their horses' reins, and galloped off to Muhâwud. When the Rânâ heard that the Gudheeâs had gone back again, he asked what was the reason. Then the people told him that there had been a quarrel between them, and that one had gone away angered, upon which the other had followed him to bring him round. The Rânâ, however, thought within himself that some one must certainly have told them. He asked the Guduwee whether he had gone to visit them, and whether he was the person who had commenced the subject, or whether another had done so. Now there was a Koolee, named Wâleeo, a servant of the Gudheeâs, who was given to opium, and who used to live about the Rânâ's presence, and make leaf-plates. The Chârun said that it was probably Wâleeo who had told them, and that they had therefore made off in alarm. Then the Rânâ threatened this Koolee very much, and turned him out, and he too went to Muhâwud. Afterwards Bâdooâ Sudhoojee said to the Rânâ, 'Well done, Thâkor! you caused me to quarrel with the 'Eedur Row, and brought me here, and then you laid a plot 'to take away my character, by secretly sending security in 'my name, and bringing the Gudheeâs here. Now, I am not 'going to remain any longer in your country.' He then went off in anger, and the Thâkors, Mehepo and Râjdhur, having secretly invited him, he, too, went to Muhâwud. Then the Thâkors were considering about giving the Guduwee a village, but meanwhile the Rânâ got information of the matter, and he sent to make friends with the Guduwee, and induced him to return, and replaced him at Pâneeâlee.

Now, the Eedur army came against Tursunghmo, and a battle was fought, and many on both sides were slain. At length the army turned homewards. At this time they seized a Nâgur of Tursunghmo, whom they took to Row Kuleeân Mul. The Row ordered that his nose should be cut off. Then the Nâgur said, 'It is well! it will be known then that I was with 'Kuleeân Mul's army.' The Row asked what was meant; the Nâgur answered, 'When you have cut off my nose, having 'taken me alone, it will be as if your whole army had lost its 'nose.' The Row turned him out without maiming him.

As the army turned back a Koonbee woman was going along with her husband's dinner. The Row saw her, and, as he was hungry, he said, 'What have you there?' She answered that it was rice-pottage. He took it and began to eat, but, as the pottage was hot, his fingers were burnt. The woman said, 'Why, 'you're as bad as Kuleeân Mul.' The Row asked how that was. She said, 'The Row, instead of taking possession of the 'outlying villages, attempts to take Tursunghmo itself, a thing 'which he cannot accomplish in ten years. So you, instead of 'beginning upon the pottage round the edges, which has 'become cooled, must needs thrust your fingers into the middle 'and get them burnt.' The Row thought, 'What she says 'is true; I have found my tutor!' He sent for the Gudheeâs to his camp, and asked them to take the direction of the army. They said, 'We have eaten the Rânâ's salt, and drunk water 'from his wells for many a day. You must permit us to make 'one attempt to bring him to terms, and if he will not listen, 'we will do as you desire.' Mehepo then went to Tursunghmo, and said, 'Cut away these sacred fig-trees that overhang the 'fort of Tursunghmo, otherwise the enemy will climb the trees, 'and fire from them into your palace.' The Rânâ said, 'Who 'is there strong enough to come as far as this? Besides, to 'cut down a peepul tree, and to murder a Brahmin, these two 'sins are equally abominable;[1] therefore, I will not cut one.' When the Gudheeâ pressed very much, the Rânâ said, 'Go! 'do you, too, climb up with them, I care not for you.' Then the Gudheeâ returned to the Row's camp, and said, 'The 'Rânâ refuses to listen.' They divided the army into three divisions, of which the Gudheeâs each of them led one, the Row commanding the third. They advanced upon Tursunghmo by different roads and invested it, and, climbing the surrounding heights, descended into the town. Then the Rânâ taking his family with him, fled to Dântâ. The following are the principal sirdârs on the Rânâ's part, who came to use

[1] In the Bhugwut Geetâ, Krishn declares that he is represented by the following:

'Among trees, the sacred fig;
'Among holy sages, Nârd;
'Among Gundhurvs, Chitrâruth;
'Among Siddhs, Kupeelâ Moonee.' [x. 26.]

in this war :—Khet, Mehedâs, Pârkhân, Pertâp, Gopâl Singh, and Veerbhân. Jugmâl, one of the Rânâ's chiefs, slew Shenkhân, a sirdâr of Eedur.

The Rânâ Jeimul and Koonwur Jetmâl, having retired to Dântâ, were followed thither by their enemies, upon which they took shelter at the Mâtâjee's, and went out against the Row. Kuleeân Mul left posts at every village, and returned to Eedur. At Tursunghmo, Mâlâ Dâbhee commanded the post ; at Surrâ, the Rehwurs ; at Thânâ, Meghâ Jâduv. Rânâ Jeimul lost all his men and horses by degrees, and at last died.

After his father's death, Koonwur Jetmâl sat at the Mâtâjee's gate, and fasted for many days without procuring any sign from the Mâtâjee. At last he made preparations for performing the 'lotus worship.' Then the Mâtâjee seized his hand, and said, 'Mount your horse, and set forth ; I will be your helper. 'Whatever land you shall pass round in this day's ride shall 'be yours, and where you draw rein your territory shall cease.' Then Jetmâl, with the few horsemen he had left, mounted, and set off. They came first to the post of the Rehwurs, who, perceiving the approach of an immense cloud of horsemen, took to flight, leaving their horses and baggage. The next post they came to was Meghâ Jâduv's. Here, by the Mâtâjee's aid, the enemy saw a horseman in every bush on the hill side, so they fled in dismay ; Meghâ, who was engaged in washing his horse, was taken by surprise and slain. They went on to Tursunghmo, and drove away the post from thence ; next they cleared Ghorâd and Hurâd of the enemy. Then Rânâ Jetmâl was wearied, and prepared to dismount, the other Rajpoots entreated him to forbear, but he answered that he could sit his horse no longer. He dismounted, and the Mâtâjee's gift was at an end. After this, Tursunghmo lay desolate, and the royal seat was removed to Dântâ ; which town derived its name from Dântoreeo Veer, whose shrine is situated two miles to the west of it, on the road to Nowâwâs, where the people make offerings of horses formed of clay. Soon after Rânâ Jetmâl died.

CHAPTER X

EEDUR

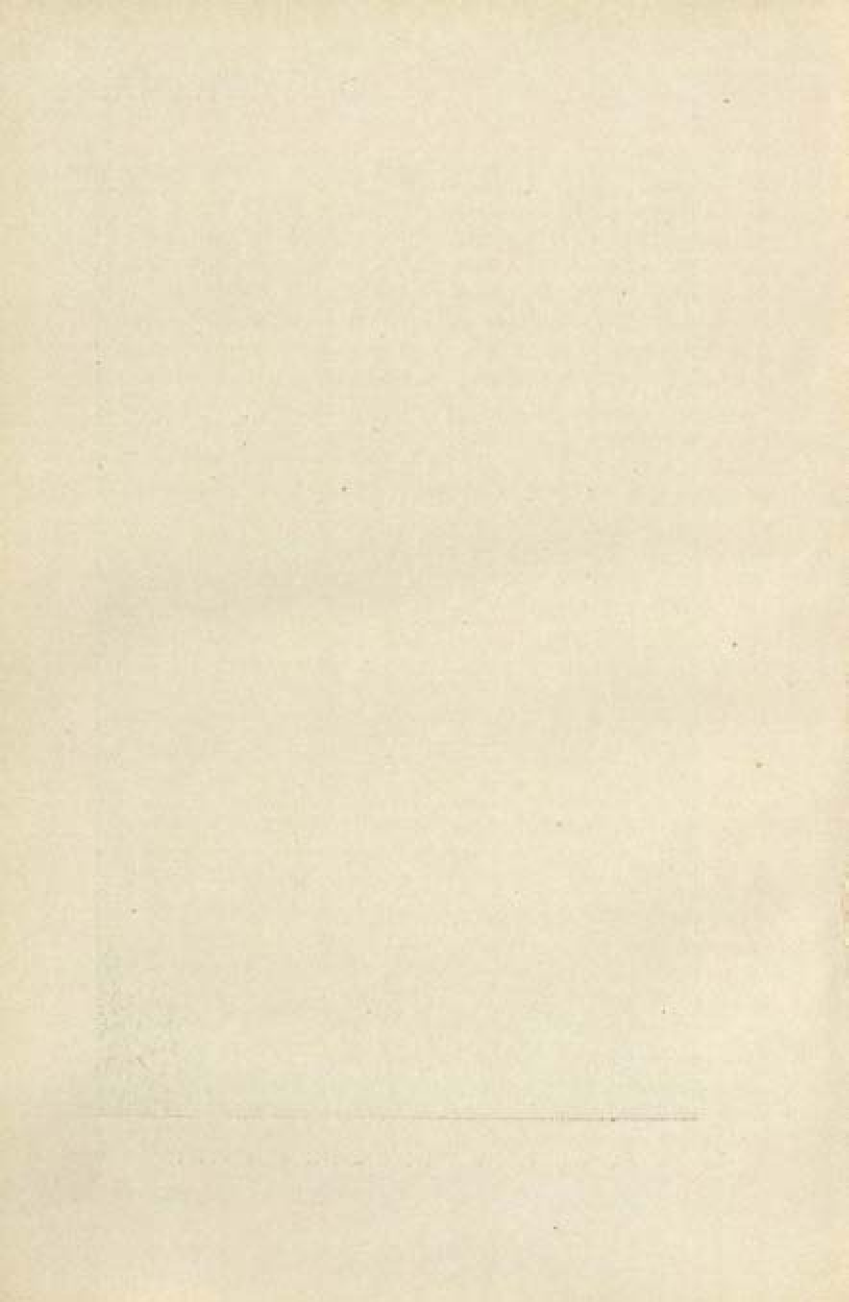
On the death of Row Kuleeân Mul, of Eedur, his son Row Jugunnâth assumed the cushion. During the reign of Kuleeân Mul two parties had been formed amongst the Eedur ministers; the one consisted of the Desâee zumeendârs, of Wusâee, Mondeytee, and Kureeâduroo, who were supported by the Wâghela Thâkors of Poseenâ, and the Dorel sirdârs; the other was composed of Ghureebdâs, the Rehwur Thâkor, of Runâsun, the chiefs of the Mohummedan Kusbâtees, of Eedur, and Moteechund Shâ Muzmoondâr, of Wurâlee. In these times the Mohummedans began to send armies to levy the tribute of Eedur with more regularity, and Vetâl Bhârot, of Baroda, who bore the title of Row, was security to the emperor for the Râthor princes. The imperial tribute was levied through the Governor of Ahmedabad. No annual payment was yet established, but every five or ten years, when the governor found himself in sufficient strength, he sent an army, and effected a levy. After the accession of Row Jugunnâth, however, the Mohummedan power increased every day, and the Eedur tribute became, by degrees, an annual levy—Vetâl Bhârot being still the go-between. The Bhârot, at length, became so large a creditor of Row Jugunnâth's, that that prince resolved to get rid of him. For this purpose he sent a female slave to his lodging, and, exciting against him a false accusation of fornication, expelled him from the town. The Bhârot retired to Baroda, and subsequently went to Delhi, as will be seen in the sequel.

Row Jugunnâth[1] had, after this, a quarrel about precedence

[1] There is an inscription of Row Jugunnâth's on a well at Eedur, dated A. D. 1646.



A WELL IN THE EEDUR COUNTRY



with the Seesodeea Râwul, of Doongurpoor, whose name was Poonjâ. About the year A. D. 1650, they met at the temple of Shâmlâjee, which is on the boundary of their dominions. On this occasion Râwul Poonjâ's handkerchief happening to fall to the ground, the Row, who was junior to the Râwul, took it up, and presented it to him. It was then pronouneed that the Râwul had forced the Row to touch his feet. In this matter Mohundâs Rehwur, Thâkor of Mohunpoor, did good service, for he attacked Doongurpoor, made the Râwul prisoner, and kept him in confinement until he compelled him to make submission to the Row, upon which he dismissed him with presents. It was at the time of worship that the Râwul was seized, and the image he used was taken by the Thâkor, and is now at Mohunpoor. Upon this, the bards have the following verses :—

Poonjâ he forced to submit,
Did the Eedur Row ;
Jugunnâth performed a deed of strength,
He inflicted great disgrace.
The Row imprisoned the Râwul,
He exalted the honor of the line of Kumdhuj,
With his sword subduing the Lord of Powan-gurh.
The honor of Doongurpoor was lost,
The Râwul trembled with fear,
Taking the Seesodeea by the hand,
Jugunnâth caused him to touch his feet.

One day, while Row Jugunnâth was at Morâsâ, a physician came thither from Delhi, who gave him medicine to restore virility, telling him not to use it until he rejoined the Rânee. When Jugunnâth arrived within a few miles of Eedur, he took the medicine, which had nearly been the cause of his death. He escaped, however, but from that time forth was never able to stand upright.

Now Vetâl Bhârot, having gone to Delhi, presented to the padishah, as an offering, a gold dish filled with water, and containing the leaf of a mango tree, a piece of sugar cane, a leaf of a khâkuro tree with a representation of a squirrel upon it, which held in its mouth a piece of sugar. The padishah, enquiring the meaning of this gift, the Bhârot made answer,—'There is 'a country which is like a gold dish, where there is plenty of

'water, and where mango trees and sugar cane flourish, but 'the animal that dwells among the khâkuro trees[1] eats the 'sugar. If your majesty will give me five hundred horse 'I will bring this country into subjection to you.' The padishah, upon this, sent orders to the Shahzâda Morâd, who was then governor of Ahmedabad, and commanded him to assist Vetâl Bhârot with five thousand horse. There was at this time at Delhi, a vukeel, or agent, on the part of the Row Jugunnâth, who sent off an express to say that an army, under Vetâl Bhârot, was ordered to advance against Eedur. The Row had by this time forgotten his ill-treatment of the Bhârot, and he therefore wrote to him in a friendly manner, to say that he had perfect confidence in him, and to enquire whether the force were indeed directed against Eedur. Vetâl Bhârot returned answer, that the Row need feel no alarm, but the army under Prince Morâd nevertheless advanced, and Eedur was taken without a blow being struck.

In Sumwut seventeen hundred and twelve (A. D. 1656),
On the third of the month, on Sunday,
In the month of Âsho, in the light half of the month,
The Shahzâda Morâd came to take Eedur.
To fight against him, Jugunnâth prepared,
Treacherously the Bhât prevented him from fighting,
Treacherously did Vetâl expel the Row,
But when Poonj Râj was slain, then it was that the
Mohummedan took Eedur-gurh.

The last line is an allusion to Row Jugunnâth's son, Poonjâ, who 'went out' against the Mohummedans. Indeed as long as he lived they could not call Eedur their own.

Poonjâ slew many a Puthân,
His force to Eedur leading,
Night and day the Puthânees shed tears for their lords,
For Poonjâjee struck down the base ones in the field.
Those whom Poonjâ struck needed no physician.
When in the field the Kumdhuj warrior fights,
How can I retain any confidence in my bracelets ?
Thus cried the Mogulânees, losing all hope,
Alas ! alas ! no one's lord will return.

[1] An allusion to the Khâkuro jungle, which then surrounded, and formed one of the defences of, Eedur.

Row Jugunnâth retired to Pol after his expulsion from Eedur, and died there soon afterwards.[1]

Morâd Shah having taken Eedur, continued the ministers in the management of affairs, and having placed a Mohummedan officer, named Syud Hâtho, in command, returned home. Syud Hâtho commenced his government by resuming all the grants (shâsuns) which had been made by the Rows; and the Bhâts and Châruns thereupon deserted their villages, and took refuge with the Thâkor of Mâlpoor, by whom they were protected.

The following is a further account, given by the bards, of Poonjâ, the son of Jugunnâth :—

Poonjâ, being a minor, proceeded to Delhi to receive investiture. The Jeipoor Raja, remembering the old feud of the time of his great uncle, Veerum Dev, was unwilling that Poonjâ should be invested, and accordingly persuaded the padishah that the young Row of Eedur was very turbulently disposed, and that his present minority would be a good opportunity for seizing upon the principality. The padishah asked how he could be satisfied that the young Row was turbulently disposed. The raja advised that he should ask for a handsome horse, which the Row possessed, and remarked that if this were given up, Poonjâ would be proved to be loyal, but if not, that it would clearly appear he meditated treachery. The padishah accordingly sent to demand the horse, but the Jeipoor Raja had meanwhile persuaded Row Poonjâ that the padishah intended a disrespect, and had indeed determined to destroy him, and that it would be better for Poonjâ to return home at once. The Row, therefore, fled. He was pursued by the padishah's troops, and surrounded at a village twenty-five miles from Delhi. He managed, however, to conceal himself in the house of a carpenter, and to join a band of Uteets, in company

[1] There is a ballad account of this Row, which thus commences:

Jugunnâth Row, you sunk your house,
Base son of Kuleeân!

The bard, who began to recite it to us, however, had no sooner repeated the above two lines, than his arms, which had been raised for gesticulation, fell to his sides, his head sank upon his bosom, the tears started to his eyes, he murmured, 'Why should I speak ill of the Rowjee!' and, neither at that nor at any future time, could be persuaded to resume his tale.

with whom he wandered about for a long time. Meanwhile Eedur was taken by the padishah's troops, and Row Poonjâ's mother, supposing that her son was dead, had retired to the house of her own family at Oodeipoor. Some time after, Row Poonjâ found his way, in company with the Uteets, to Oodeipoor, where he made himself known to his mother, and to the Rânâ, who gave him a force to assist in recovering his hereditary dominions. Row Poonjâ accordingly advanced and conquered back Eedur, where he took up his residence, placing, however, his Rânees and treasure at Surwân. It was in Sumwut, 1714 (A.D. 1658), that Row Poonjâ regained Eedur, he reigned there about six months, and was then taken off by poison.

Urjoondâs, the brother of Row Poonjâ, lived at this time at Dhâmod-nee-Nâl, where he gradually assembled a thousand men, with whom he harassed the Ahmedabad Pergunnahs. Once on a time, the Râj Koonwurs, or princes, of Dewulya,* Bânswârâ, Loonâwârâ, and Doongurpoor, were on their way from Ahmedabad to their own homes. They halted at Runâsun, where they were well received, and as they continued their journey from thence, Row Urjoondâs, hearing of their arrival, sent an express to invite them to pay him a visit. They went, therefore, to Dhâmod. While they were there, it occurred to them that Runâsun, being a difficult place, would be a good point for the Row to take post at, and make incursions upon the lands of Ahmedabad and Eedur. They agreed, further, to take part with the Row, and mustering their united forces, found that they amounted to five thousand men. They went, therefore, to Runâsun.† Now the Rehwurs had been on the look out ever since the Koonwurs had seen Runâsun, lest they should join Row Urjoondâs, and cast a longing eye upon the place. Though the Row and his confederates arrived suddenly therefore, the Rehwurs were prepared, and under cover of the houses, fired upon them as they were entering Runâsun. Four rajas were at once slain—Urjoondâs Row, and the Koonwurs of Doongurpoor, Loonâwârâ, and Dewulya. The Koonwur of Bânswârâ fled, carrying the corpses of his companions with him, to Dhâmod, where he performed their funeral rites. Row Urjoondâs left a son, then five years old, whom the Koonwur took with him to Bânswârâ, where he gave

him the puttâ of Tooteeâbul in Wâgur for his subsistence during his minority, and this puttâ is still enjoyed by his descendants.

Row Urjoondâs having fallen, Jugunnâth's brother, Gopeenâth, remained 'out,' and made excursions as far as Ahmedabad. The padishah's power was at this time on the decline, and Syud Hâtho thought fit to call upon the Desâees and Muzmoondârs, to go to the Row, in order to arrange for the payment to him of a certain sum, on condition of his forbearing to harass the country. The ministers said that such a purpose could not be effected without the aid of Bhâts and Chârans. Syud Hâtho, therefore, recalled the Bhâts and Châruns, who had held grants from the Rows, and restored their villages. Jogeedâs Chârun, of Koowâwoo, was then despatched to the Row, and arranged for the payment of the 'Wol,' which the Rows still hold upon Eedur. Syud Hâtho, was soon after replaced by Soubah Kumâl Khân, an indolent person, who paid no attention to his government. Gopeenâth Row was, therefore, enabled to drive him out, and thus, at length, recovered possession of Eedur, where he ruled for about five years. Ghureebdâs Rehwur, the Thâkor of Runâsun, was, however, afraid that if the Row held Eedur, he would, sooner or later, take vengeance for Row Urjoondâs. Ghureebdâs was, as has been mentioned, at the head of a powerful party in Eedur, which included the Kusbâtees. With their aid he brought an army from Ahmedabad to expel the Row. Row Gopeenâth had two Rânees, a daughter of Oodeipoor, and a daughter of the Wâghela of Pethâpoor; he had also two concubines. Taking these ladies with him, he retired into Eedur-gurh, but the Kusbâtees pursuing him, and forcing their way in, he was obliged to descend the hills, in the direction of Kulnâth Muhâ Dev. The ladies, at the same time, fled to the 'hill of murders,' where they determined to die, supposing that all was lost; and accordingly perished, by drowning in the reservoir called 'the broken tank.' Row Gopeenâth, meanwhile, was sheltered at Kulnâth Muhâ Dev's. A Brahmin, of Wurâlee, came there to worship Kulnâth, and Row Gopeenâth, who was accustomed to eat a pound and a quarter of opium every day, took two gold bracelets off his arms, and gave them to him, saying, that one was a gift, but that he should sell the other, and bring opium, to enable him

to get on to Surwân. He also promised the Brahmin, that when he was restored to Eedur, he would give him a village. The Brahmin took the bracelets and, going home, related to his wife what had happened. She advised that he should not return, for that the Row would some day lay claim to the bracelets, if he survived. Gopeenâth, being unable to procure opium, died, and from that time the Rows have never recovered Eedur.

The affairs of Eedur now fell into the hands of Moteechund, the Muzmoondâr of Wurâlee, and the Desâees of Wusâee, Ghureebdâs Rehwur, holding the office of Prudhân, or chief minister, Gopeenâth's son, Row Kurun Singh, lived at Surwân until his death. He left two sons, Chândo or Chundra Singh, and Mâdhuv Singh ; the mother of the former was a Jhâlâ lady, of Hulwud, and that of the latter, a daughter of Dântâ. Row Chândo grew up at Surwân, and Mâdhuv Singh, at Udheyrun, which had been assigned to his mother. Mâdhuv Singh at length went out, and engaged the padishah's troops at the village of Châmpulpoor, in the Poseenâ district. From thence he went to Verâbur, which he took possession of, and his descendants remain there still.

In the same year, Sumwut, 1752 (A. D. 1696), Row Mân and Gowind Râthor, relations of Row Chândo, joined him from Mewar, and 'went out' with him against Eedur, and in Sumwut 1774 (A. D. 1718), the Desâees brought Row Chândo back to Eedur, having driven out the Mohummedan garrison. Row Chândo, however, did not rule well, and the Wâghelas and Rehwurs encroached upon all the crown villages of Eedur ; the former occupying the country as far as Wurâlee, and the latter advancing their territories to Sâbulee. At this time, the Thâkor of Pâlya having died, it became necessary to present a sword and dress of honor to his successor. Row Chândo attempted to leave Eedur, under pretence of making this investiture, but his mercenaries interrupted his departure, and demanded their arrears. The Row gave them as security Sirdâr Singh, the Thâkor of Wolâsunâ, who was then at Eedur, and entrusting him with the government, as his representative, quitted his capital, never to return. Sirdâr Singh, ruled at Eedur for a time, in the name of the Row, until, at length, the Desâees and zumeendârs placed him on the royal cushion.

Sirdâr Singh's minister was Shâmlâjee Thâkor, of Lehee, a 'brother of Wolâsunâ,' a man of great ability and courage, who recovered the villages which had been encroached upon by the Rehwurs and Wâghelas. His success raised him many enemies, and the leading men of the Kusbâtees, at length persuaded Sirdâr Singh, that Shâmlajee meditated his and their destruction. The Row believed them, and dismissed Shamlâjee, who went his way. Buchâ Pundit was invited from Baroda to be his successor. Soon, after, however, a quarrel arose between Row Sirdâr Singh and the Kusbâtees, and the former meditated attacking them, and openly declared that, unless he were able to put them to death, he would not remain at Eedur. Finding himself unable to effect his purpose, he retired in discontent to Wolâsunâ. Buchâ Pundit then ruled in Eedur, with the Kusbâtees, Moteechund Muzmoondâr, and Rehwur Udhey Singh, of Runâsun, the interest of the Desâees having declined. Buchâ Pundit paid tribute to the governor of Ahmedabad, and continued to rule in Eedur, but the Desâees were discontented with the state of affairs, and Lâl Singh Oodâwut having arrived at Wusâee, on his way from Soreth to Marwar, they went to him, and made him their confidant. He said, that if they chose, he would bring them a good raja. The Desâees agreed, and entered into a written engagement, upon which Lâl Singh went to Poseenâ, and brought Muhâraja Ânund Singh and his brothers to Eedur. It was in the year Sumwut, 1787 (A. D. 1731), that Ânund Singh took Eedur from Buchâ Pundit.

To return to Row Chândo : this prince retired to Pol, which was in the possession of his wife's family, the Pureehâr Rajpoots, with the expressed intention of bidding them adieu, and proceeding to Kâshee, to die there. After remaining at Pol about two months, Row Chândo set out to retire to Benares. There is a village named Surchow, about ten miles from Pol. The Row halted there, and wrote to his friends at Pol, to come and eat a last feast with him, and return home. They came and feasted, and drank with Row Chândo. When the Pol Rajpoots were overcome with drink, the Row caused them all to be put to death, and returning to Pol, seated himself on the royal cushion, and his descendants remain at Pol to this day.

CHAPTER XI

THE GOHILS

We have thus followed the fortunes of Northern Goozerat to the time when the transient dominion of the Moslem ceased, when the Muezzin's call to prayers began to die away, subdued by the sound of the liberated bells, which once more tinkled in each Hindoo temple, and the flag of Shiva, under the form of the national banner of the Mahrattas again floated supreme throughout the land, from that deity's much oppressed shrine at Prubhâs, to the still inviolate mansion of his consort, the inaccessible Umbâ Bhuwânee. The sovereigns of the Dekkan we shall again behold, as in the days of the Solunkhee Kings of Kuleeân, extending their dominion over Goozerat and Soreth. Before, however, we pursue their story, we must return once more to the scene with which our drama opened—to the site of forgotten Wullubheepoor, to the minarets of Loleeyânah, already crumbling into dust, and to the neighbouring spot on which is now to rise the Shaivite spire, inscribed with the dreaded name of Dâmâjee Guikowâr.

Sârungjee Gohil [1] was succeeded in turn by his son, Shivdâs, and his grandson, Jeytjee. Jeytjee had two sons, Râmdâs and Gungâdâs, which latter obtained, as his portion, the village of Chumârdee.

Gohil Râmdâsjee, say the bards, visited Benares as a pilgrim ; he feasted there fourteen thousand Brahmins, and presented each of them with a gold coin in alms. When he had completed his pilgrimage, he sent the Sungh home, and proceeded alone to Oodeipoor. Koombho Rânâ inquired what Rajpoot clan he belonged to, and what lands he was possessed of. Râmdâs replied, ' I am the Gohil Rajpoot, lord of the port of Ghoghâ and of Gohilwâr.' Then Koombho Rânâ gave his

[1] See p. 359.

daughter, Sukomul Bâ, to Râmdâs. At this time, Momud Shah's army attacked Oodeipoor, and a battle was fought, in which Râmdâs slew many men, horses, and elephants. Râmdâs had a Shâlagrâm stone in his head which was cut in two in the fight ; an elephant's bell falling upon it concealed it for the time, and after that a snake built his heap upon it. Koonwur Sutojee heard the news of this fight, at Ghoghâ ; he performed the funeral obsequies of his father. At this time, the Shâlagrâm appeared to him in a dream, and said, 'I, your Isht Dev, 'am buried in the ground at Oodeipoor ; bring me from 'thence.' Sutojee sent Duvey Rughoonâth and others to the spot pointed out at Oodeipoor, and brought thence the Shâlagrâm ; and the stone, the pieces of which have adhered together, is now worshipped in the house of the Duvey's descendants at Seehore, who enjoy annual grants on that account.

Râmdâs left two younger sons, Sudooljee and Bheemjee, to the former of whom was assigned, as his portion, the village of Udheywârâ, and to the latter, that of Thânâ, the present possessors of which, Bheemjee's descendants, bear the title of 'Thâneeâ Râwuls.'

In the annals of Mewar, mention is made of 'the Gohil from 'Peerum,' as one of the defenders of Cheetore, on the occasion of its capture by Allah-ood-deen, in A. D. 1303,[1] and the historian of Rajpootana applies the incident to the time of Râmdâsjee Gohil. The bards of the Bhownugger family, however, connect, as we have seen, Râmdâsjee Gohil with the reign of Koombho, Rânâ of Mewar. That prince encountered Mahmood, Shah of Malwa, and defeated him, as Ferishta mentions in his Malwa history, in A. D. 1454. This latter date even, can hardly be brought to synchronise with Râmdâsjee, whose great grandson, Dhoonâjee, died in A. D. 1619. It is, perhaps, more probable that the Gohil prince was one of 'the numerous auxiliaries 'from all parts of Râjwârâ,' who endeavoured to maintain Cheetore against Buhâdur Shah, of Goozerat, by whom it was taken in A. D. 1532–3.[2]

Sutojee, the son of Râmdâs, left four sons Veesojee, who

[1] *Vide* Tod's *Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, vol. i, p. 291. Tod's *Western India*, pp. 258–9, 266.

[2] *Vide* Tod's *Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, vol. i, pp. 361 et seq.

succeeded him, Devojee, Veerojee, and Mânkojee. The younger brothers obtained, as their portions, three villages each, forming the estates of Pucheygâm, Uwâneeya, and Nuwâneeya. The descendants of Devojee form the family called Devânee Gohils, from his own name; those of Veerojee, are known as the Vâchânees, from Veero's son, Vâcho. They now hold Khokhurâ, Mâmchee, and Kunâr.

The town of Singhpoor, or Seehore [1] was, as we have seen, granted by the sovereigns of Unhilwârâ to Brahmins, who appear to have maintained possession of it, without admitting any external authority, until the times at which we are now arrived, when dissensions among themselves gave them a master in the person of Veesojee Gohil.

The situation of Seehore bears some resemblance to the crater of a volcano; it is a flat plain surrounded by a girdle of rugged hills. In the centre of the ancient town, of which no single dwelling now remains, is a small conical hill, called the hill of the seven streets, on the summit of which is a pavilion, in which, as tradition relates, the Brahmins of Seehore met of old in council, and for the administration of justice. Not very far from the base of this hill, is a handsome reservoir called 'the Brumhkoond.' It is of considerable size, square in form, and surrounded with niches containing Hindoo sculpture, and it descends from all sides, towards the pool in the centre, by flights of steps, relieved at regular intervals by landings. Around the terrace of the koond, a row of temples forms a kind of cloister, and outside these a wall surrounds the whole. To the south of the koond rises a singular hill, called, from the number of its peaks, 'the three horned mountain.'

The circumvallation of old Seehore is still, in some places, discernible; the new town is placed on the north of these, and touches very closely the feet of the surrounding hills. A river called the Gomutee, or Goutumee, washes the western side of Seehore, whose banks are dotted with numerous funeral memorials. A short distance from the town, near the river, is a second reservoir, called 'the Goutumeshwur koond.'

[1] [Sihor is 14 miles from Bhāvnagar, and the palace contains some picturesque frescoes of the Gohil wars, reproduced in Wilberforce Bell's *History of Kāthiāwād*.]

The old town of Seehore was, it is said, divided between two sects of Brahmins, the Runâs and the Jânees, who occupied respectively its southern and northern portions. A Jânee Brahmin's daughter, who had married into a Runâ family, was, it is said, one day churning milk in the yard of her husband's house, wearing her long hair loose over her shoulders, and her head uncovered. Her husband was seated at this time among other Brahmins in the pavilion on the hill of the seven streets which overlooked the whole of the city. One of the Brahmins, remarking that the woman did not cover her head though she was exposed to their gaze, said, without knowing that her husband sat beside him, 'The man must be an effeminate fellow 'whose wife is so careless of decency as this.' Her husband, hearing the remark, was full of shame and anger; he went home, and cut off his wife's hair and her nose. The woman ran weeping to her father's house to complain of the cruel treatment she had suffered; her male relations took up arms, and hastened to exact revenge. A conflict ensued, in the course of which many Brahmins were slain, and the spot, thus stained with so much sacred blood of the priests, became henceforth accursed and desolate. It still retains the name of the 'field 'of murders.'

The Jânees and Runâs each of them now sought foreign assistance. The former set off to Gâreeâdhâr, to the descendant of Sâhâjee, the brother of Rânjee Gohil, and offered to make over to that chieftain the town of Seehore with its twelve dependent villages. The chief of Gâreeâdhâr, accordingly, assembled a force, and advanced upon 'the lion city,' but, a bad omen occurring, he halted on the way, and lost his opportunity, being soon after attacked by the head of his house, Râwul Veesojee Gohil, whom the Runâs had brought with them from Oomrâlâ. Veesojee repulsing his kinsman of Gâreeâdhâr, entered Seehore, and took possession of the royal rights connected with it, leaving, however, the land to the Brahmins; and from this time Seehore became the capital of the Gohils, until Bhow Singh erected the new city, called after his name, on the ruins of the old town of Wuduwâ.

'No enemy', says the bard, 'ever subdued the strength of 'Oomur Kot (Oomrâlâ). Through Soreth walked the son of

'Sutmâljee, grasping his sword. Veesul was like a tiger; an 'acre of his land was to him as his liver—no enemy could take 'it, though striving with great labour, from the son of Sutojee.'

Veesojee was succeeded by Râwul Dhoonâjee; he left also two younger sons, Bheemjee and Kusheeojee, to whom were assigned the estates of Huleeyâd and Bhudulee.

While Dhoonâjee ruled in Seehore his kinsman, Noghunjee of Gâreeâdhâr, was attacked by Lomâ Khoomâ,[1] the Kâtee chief, of Kherudee, and deprived of his estate, or, as the bard says, 'his grâs was taken from him.' Noghunjee fled to Seehore for assistance, and Râwul Dhoonâjee prepared to support him with all his power; for, however willing the head of a Rajpoot house may be to infringe in his own interest upon the rights of the cadets of the family, his assistance is sure to be afforded them in case of an attack from without, which, if successful, must tend to his own eventual disadvantage—the teelâyut being in the last resort the heir of the phutâyo.[2] The Kâtee chief, however, taking two hundred horse with him, made a night attack upon Wulleh, where Dhoonâjee's levies were assembling, and, in the course of the action, the Râwul was slain.

Noghunjee Gohil now fled to Rujo Bâreâ, the Koolee chief of Juwâsh, and, espousing his daughter, brought a force of Bâreâ Koolees to Seehore, and, procuring further aid from thence, advanced on Gâreeâdhâr. The Putel of the town came to his camp, and informed him that Lomâ's force was too strong to be attacked with success. A stratagem was determined on, and the Putel, returning into the town, raised an alarm that his cattle had been carried off by a party of horse who had retired in a westerly direction. The Kâtees hastened in pursuit, and Noghunjee, seizing the opportunity, entered the town with his family and followers. The inhabitants were favourable to the cause of the Gohil, and Gâreeâdhâr was, therefore, won; but Noghunjee, on the advice of his wife, fearing that Lomâ would

1 [Lomā Khumān was a Kāthi chief who had gained an unenviable reputation by espousing the cause of the last Gujarāt Sultān, Muzaffar Shāh III, and then deserting him on the field of Buchar Mori A. D. 1591.]

2 [For these terms, see Book IV, chapter iv. *Phatāyo*, from *phānta*, a branch, means a cadet, as distinguished from *tilāyat*, one who has received the *tilaka*, or forehead-mark, at the time of his installation, and hence the head of a clan.]

retake the town, went to that chieftain, and gave up his sword. His wife became the adopted sister of Lomâ Khoomâ, but both she and her husband merely dissembled until an opportunity offered for revenge. At length a marriage occurred at the court of the Jâm of Nugger, who was Noghunjee Gohil's son-in-law. The chief of Gâreeâdhâr and his Thâkorine were invited, but the lady refused to go unless attended by her brother Lomâ Khoomâ. A letter, sprinkled with red water, was, therefore, sent from Nugger to Lomâ, though he and the Jâm were at enmity at the time, in consequence of the Jâm's having been betrayed by Lomâ in an engagement with the Mohummedans. The Kâtee chief, however, went to Jâmnugger, and was present at the marriage ; but, being afterwards invited to an entertainment in the Jâm's apartments, and prevailed upon to lay aside his arms, he was treacherously seized upon by Noghunjee and the Jâm, and put to death. Several of his relations also shared the same fate.

When the Kâtee chief was bound and disabled by wounds, the Jâm tauntingly asked him what he would do if he were then released. Lomâ answered, 'I would overturn Nugger as a 'woman turns cakes on the girdle.'

The following is the bardic version of the story of Dhoonâjee Râwul :—'Lomâ Kâtee and Noghun, proud in fight, con'tended ; the drum beat in the limits of Wulleh. The Gohil 'mingled in the fray ; many arrows and musket-balls were dis'charged ; the edge of the sword played. Eesh came thither 'quickly to string heads in his Roondmâlâ ; * flesh-devouring 'Shuktees and carrion birds came thither ; Upsurâs, too, and 'the thirty-three crore of Devs. Says Sooruj to Uroon, '"Stop the Chariot, O Uroon! behold Dhoonâjee dies on 'the field of battle." A thousand horses were neighing there ; 'banners were waving ; Dhoonâjee turned not his heel to the 'foe. Angrily the Muroo Raja fought, and broke the Kâtee's 'army. None but he would give his head ; Noghun escaped, 'but Dhoonâjee remained on the field. The king adorned the 'Kshutree race like another Râm, the supporter of the '"birud." Veesul's son, making his sword to play, wed an 'Upsurâ, and passed to Swerga.'

On the banks of the river at Seehore stands the funeral

pâleeyo of Râwul Dhoonâjee ; he is represented as a mounted warrior brandishing his lance, and, beside his monument, are those of two of his wives who followed him through the flames. The name of one only of the sutees is legible, 'Bâee Shree 'Kurmâ Devee.' From this monument we derive the date of Dhoonâjee's death, 'the light half of the month of Kârtik in 'the year of Vikrum, 1675' (A. D. 1619). Close beside the pâleeyo of his father stands the monument of 'Shree Rutun'jee, the son of Râwul Shree Dhoonâjee,' which is dated only one year later (A. D. 1620). There are two sutees' monuments beside that of Râwul Rutunjee, the names are obliterated, but, on one of them may be traced the record that 'Mother Shree '—jee departed with her beloved.' Of the circumstances of Rutunjee's death nothing is known, except that it was the death of the warrior. The bardic account is as follows :—'When 'Rutun fixed his foot for the fight, the Upsurâs crowded from 'heaven to the spot to claim the hand of the son of Dhoono. 'On the spire, his family, Lâ Gohil,[1] placed the finial "genero'sity." The son of Dhoono added to it the banner of Kshutree'worthiness in war, and went his way.'

Râwul Rutunjee had a brother, named Ukherâjjee ; he had also three sons, Hurbhumjee, Gowindjee, and Sârungjee, and a daughter, Leelâjee Bâ, married to Râ Bhâro, of Bhooj. Râwul Hurbhumjee succeeded his father ; he married the Rânee Unâjee Bâ Survaiyânee, and had by her a son, named Ukherâjjee. The Koonwur was two years old when his father 'be'came a Dev.' Gowindjee, his uncle, took possession of the royal cushion, and Rânee Unâjee Bâ, for fear of him, fled to Bhooj, taking with her the young prince.

The Vâchânees Keshuvjee, and Mukunjee, and the Devânee Mâljee at this time took counsel together, and, calling in a shepherd, named Bhânguro, to their aid, determined to oppose Gowindjee in the interest of their young lord, Ukherâjjee, then sheltered at Bhooj. They commenced a system of incursions upon Seehore. Gowindjee went to Ahmedabad to procure assistance from the Mohummedan government, and died there. When the news arrived at Seehore, and Sutrâsuljee, the son of

[1] Lâ Gohil is a fabulous ancestor of the family, celebrated by the bards as having presented gifts even from the tomb.

Gowindjee was engaged in celebrating his father's obsequies, Keshuvjee and his confederates, taking advantage of the crowd and confusion, made their way to the Râwul's residence, and, surprising Sutrâsuljee while asleep, seized him, and carried him out of the town to Old Seehore, where they had left their horses. They placed him before one of their party on horseback, and were making off in the south-west direction, when they observed a party of Kâtee horsemen approaching Seehore, to join in the funeral ceremonies. Keshuvjee and his friends attempted to gain the three-horned hill, but were not able to avoid the Kâtees; they, therefore, determined on accosting them, and said, 'Gowindjee has taken our master's cushion, so 'we have seized his Koonwur, and brought him off. If his 'friends will give up the town to the true raja, we will restore 'the Koonwur.' The Kâtees promised their assistance, and recommended that Ukherâjjee should be brought to Seehore, when they would place him on the cushion. Râwul Ukherâjjee was thus brought home and restored to his rights, and Sutrâsuljee was released and presented with the estate of Bhundâreeo as his portion. His descendants are the Gowindânee Gohils.

While Ukherâjjee was yet a minor, and the power of the Gowindânee of Bundhâreeo was still felt in Seehore, the young Râwul's mother, Unâjee Bâ, became acquainted with Desâee Mehrâj, a servant of the Mohummedan government, at Loleeyânah. His son, Mehtâ Râmjee Mehrâj, was brought to Seehore, and installed as minister to the Râwul, his authority being supported by a party of troops from Loleeyânah, and the influence of the Gowindânees was thus counterbalanced. Ukherâjjee was succeeded by his eldest son, Râwul Rutunjee; his younger sons, Hurbhumjee, Vrujrâjjee, and Surtânjee, received as their portion, the estates of Wurtej, Thorudee, and Muglânoo. Dhoonojee, another son, left no descendants.

Râwul Rutunjee employed, as his minister, Dâmjee, the son of Râmjee Mehrâj; he left one son, Râwul Bhow Singh, the founder of Bhownugger.

While Bhow Singh was yet a youth, some of his companions excited his anger against Wullubhjee, the son of Dâmjee, by jestingly remarking that the Mehtâ was the raja in fact.

Bhow Singh upon this slew Wullubhjee Mehtâ with his spear. The minister's brothers, and their partisans, prepared to leave Seehore, but Bhow Singh's mother came to their house in her chariot, and entreated them to remain, protesting that she was herself perfectly innocent of the deed, and that her son, as soon as he should be made aware of the truth, would repent what he had done. The Rânee also declared that if they left Seehore, she was determined to accompany them. Wullubhjee's brothers were thus prevailed upon to remain, and Mehtâ Runchor, the eldest of them, was appointed minister, and presented with the turban and silver inkstand, as usual.

In A. D. 1723, Râwul Bhow Singh founded a town near the ancient Wuduwâ, to which he gave the name of Bhownugger. It is a picturesque sea-port town, situated on the banks of the creek, or Kâree, already alluded to under the name of 'the 'Bhownugger,' or 'the former' river, and which is navigable for small craft up to the point called Gheluree Bunder, about half-way distant between the port and the town of Wulleh. The residence of the Gohil Râwuls, with its clock tower and campaniles, one or two large round towers on the walls, a reservoir constructed by Râwul Wujesunghjee in the suburbs, and several temples and funeral monuments of the ruling family, are the objects which first attract notice at Bhownugger. The houses are well built, usually of stone, but sometimes partly of brick, and enriched with woodwork, very elaborately ornamented.

From a slight elevation near the town, on the land side, a view is obtained of the port of Gogo,—between which and Bhownugger, lies a dreary, flat, and sea-deserted tract,—of the Khokurâ hills, and those of Pâleetânâ, Seehore, and Chumârdee, with the Kâree winding towards the gulf. On the banks of the creek, a little below the town, placed upon a gentle eminence studded with shrubs, is the temple of Roowâpooree Mâtâ, which derives its origin, as tradition asserts, from the inhumation of the potter's wife, who turned back to look upon the falling city of Wullubheepoor. The shrine of Roowâpooree has no object worthy of notice, but in its immediate vicinity is an oblong stone, derived, apparently, from the funeral monument of an ascetic, which has long been celebrated as

an ordeal stone, under the name of the 'window of truth and falsehood.'

Still nearer the waters of the creek, is a bank bearing the name of 'Doono,' the scene of a legend, which tells that a merchant, refusing to fulfil a vow made by him to Roowâpooree Mâtâ, was sunk there, with his ships, laden with oil and madder. The bank emits discoloured water, which is pointed to in confirmation of this tale of Roowâpooree's vengeance.

In the creek, opposite the town, a few tall masts are visible, the remnant of the naval power of the Kings of Perumbh; and beneath their keels lies the submerged city of Dhootâr Puttun, the out-port, perhaps, of Wullubhee Nugger, whose foundation of stone and brick may yet be exhumed, when the low state of the tide offers opportunity.

The description of the capital of the Gohil Râwuls, given by their own bards, must not, however, in this place be omitted; 'In this Kulyoog,' say they, 'in the year of Vikrum, 1779, 'in Wyeshâk month, when the moon shone bright, on the '3rd day of the month, the pundits were sent for, and the 'auspicious hour ascertained. Beholding the conjunction, the 'learned men were much rejoiced, "Bravo! bravo!" said they, '"this city will be like Indra's." The word issued from their 'mouths, and the name of Bhownugger was given to the city. 'The Brahmins prophesied that jewels and pearls would adorn 'the city; that its enemies would be discomfited. What Brah- 'mins predict is sure to be fulfilled! Believing this, the Râwul 'placed his throne; gardens he caused to be laid out; man- 'sions he built that reached into the sky; a fort whose battle- 'ments were overtopped by the palaces. Over the towers, 'kite-like, fluttered the flags; in the narrowest streets polished 'lime was spread upon the walls; the women, that out of each 'lane went forth to fill water, seemed like herds of the 'elephants of Ceylon. With many different plans, the arti- 'ficers built houses of many stories; the cornices projected on 'either side; flower trees peeped through the lattices and em- 'brasures; elephants, with their collars of bells, created a 'jingling noise, footmen followed them, and horsemen bearing 'lances; large-bellied merchants wandered about with their 'dress loose; in lines of thousands, on both sides, were the

'shops; from shop to shop purchasers without number; the 'merchants trafficking, destroyed the trade of other cities. 'In no other place, were such lakh-lords to be found; from 'place to place were the houses of those who displayed the '"crore-banner." The beauty of the Râwul's mansion was such 'as none could estimate; it was covered with creepers bearing 'gold-coloured flowers; the windows were studded with costly 'stones; it was adorned with many kinds of sculpture; instru- 'ments of music sounded there; every one exclaimed, "Bravo! 'bravo! to this princedom!" The lamps were lighted, the 'courtiers assembled, the great drums rolled, the dancers 'danced, the pugilists contended, every spectator was full of 'delight, foreign fruits were brought in plenty, the Upsurâs 'danced with loosened vestments, the teeluk of the Gohil race 'shone like the sun, poets chaunted songs before him, the 'whole eight watches of the day passed in delight. The 'sands of Jâhnuvee[1] may be numbered, or the drops of rain; 'but what pundit's son could describe how great was your 'lordliness, O Padishah of Perumbh!'

[1] ['Daughter of Jāhnu.' An epithet of the Ganges.]

END OF VOL I.

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL NOTES

PAGE 9. * [The following is Weber's note on the subject (*Über das Śatruñjaya Māhātmyam*, Leipzig, 1858, p. 41):

'Wegen der Macht des Duḥshamâ-Zeitalters wird die Macht der *Mudgala* mit Gewalt, wie ein Meerstrom, die Erde überfluthend ergreifen. Kühe, Getreide, Reichthümer, Kinder, Frauen, mittlere, niedrige und hochgestellte Menschen, (in) *Saurâshṭra*, Kacha, Lâta u.s.w. mitnehmend, werden die *Mudgala* ziehen. Zu ihren je gewohnten Geschäften die verschiedenen Kasten zusammenrufend (auffordernd, S. 181) die *Mudgala* dann viele Reichthümer vertheilend in das Land bringen werden.'

'Wer mögen diese *Mudgala* sein? Offenbar wohl ein fremdes Volk (*Anârya*, s.v. 169–70), welches eine Zeitlang über *Surâshṭra* herrschte, und unter dessen Herrschaft sich nach 167 das Land zuletzt ganz gut stand. Es können damit wohl nur die Indoscythen, *Yuetchi*, Weissen Hunnen, gemeint sein, deren Reich sich mehrere Jahrhunderte über *Guzerâte* erstreckte, wo zu Ptolemaios Zeit ihre Hauptstadt *Minnagara* lag, die geradezu mit dem, nach arabischen Zeugnissen auch *Mânekir* genannten *Valabhi* zu identificieren ist (S. Lassen, *Indien*, II. 773–4, 855, 871; III. 145, 171, 491, 532, 587–9). Woher aber dieser auffällige Name *Mudgala*, der sonst nirgendwo in den indischen Quellen in drgl. Beziehung vorkommt? Dem Klange nach läge der Name den Mongolen nahe, der aber theils überhaupt in so früher Zeit nicht nachweisbar ist, theils auch des Volkes selbst wegen nicht passt: denn da *Bhâvaḍa's* erste Zeit mit *Vikramârka* gleichzeitig gesetzt wird, und *Jâvaḍa* 108 Jahre nach *Vikramârka* stirbt (v. 280), so handelt es sich hier bei diesem bald nach *Bhâvaḍa's* Tode fallenden Ereigniss, nach dem in der Einleitung über *Vikramaditya's Zeit* Bemerkten, um das letzte Drittel des zweiten Jahrhunderts nach Chr., in welcher Zeit selbsterständlich an einen Einfall mongolischer Stämme des Namens in *Guzerâte* nicht zu denken ist.'

('Owing to the greatness of the Duḥshamâ Age, the power of the Mudgala will overflow the earth like the ocean at full tide. The Mudgala will go to Saurāshṭra Kacha, Lāta, etc., taking with them their kine, grain, riches, children, women-folk, and men of all classes, middle, low, and high. Summoning the different castes to their usual occupations, the Mudgala will bring into the country much wealth, distributing it among themselves.'

'Who could these Mudgala be? Evidently a foreign race (*Anârya*, *s.v.* 169–70), who for some time ruled over Saurāshṭra, and under whose rule the country became finally settled after 167. These people must then be no other than the Indo-Skythians, Yueh-chi and White Huns, whose kingdom extended for several centuries over Gujarat, where in the time of Ptolemy their capital Minnagara was situated: this in fact is identified with Valabhi, which according to Arabian authorities was called Manekir (*vide* Lassen, *Indien*, II. 773–4; 855–71; III. 145, 171, 491, 532, 587,

589). Whence, however, is this extraordinary name *Mudgala*, which occurs nowhere in the Indian sources in similar context? From the sound the name appears like the Mongols; this name, however, cannot be proved to have been current at such an early period, and, moreover, there are considerations concerning the people themselves which make it impossible to maintain such a theory; for Bhāvaḍa's early period is reckoned as contemporaneous with Vikramārka, and Jāvaḍa died 108 years after Vikramārka (*v.* 280). In connexion with this event, therefore, which occurred soon after the death of Bhāvaḍa, noticed in the Introduction on the Vikramāditya period, we are concerned with the last third of the second century after Christ, when, of course, an invasion of Gujarāt by a people of this name is not to be thought of'.)

The following is the original Sanskrit of the passage translated above by Weber:

दुःषमाकाल माहात्म्यान्मुद्गलानां बलं बलात्। पयोधि पूरवत् पृथ्वीं प्लावयित्वा ग्रहीष्यति गोधान्यधन बालस्त्री मध्यमानयोत्तमान् जनान् सौराष्ट्र कच्छ लाटादीन् लात्वा यास्यन्ति मुद्गलाः स्वस्वोचितेषु कार्येषु वर्णान् संभाष्य मुद्गलाः दत्त्वा बहूनि वित्तानि यो जयिष्यन्ति मण्डले ॥]

Page 27. * [Kalyāṇi in the Nizam's Dominions, lat. 17° 51′, long. 77°, the capital of the western Chālukyas. See Appendix, p. 36. Bhoowur is Bhūyaḍa, Bhūyaḍa, or Bhūdeva.]

Page 30. * [Mihira, a leader of the great Kāthiāwār tribe of the Mehrs.]

Page 37. * [The modern Diu.]

Page 39. * [i.e. A.D. 1297, or 1354 Vikrama. The author has mixed up the two eras.]

Page 40. * [The image is late and the inscriptions are unreliable. *Bomb. Gaz.* i, part 1, pp. 151–2 and 153.]

Page 43. * [*Ain*, trans. Blochmann and Jarrett, ii. 259.]

Page 46. * [Balharā is *Vallaha rāy*, *Vallabha rāi*, a title assumed by the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed.]

Page 60. * [This seems to be an anachronism. Mūlrāj died in 996–7 A.C. Sīyojī Rāthor was the *grandson* of Jaichand, who was defeated by Shāhbuddīn Ghori, 1193 A.C.]

Page 61. * [A Sanskrit form of Bārappa or Barp, cf. p. 52, *note* 2, *end*.]

Page 70. * [These fans, chowree, Skt. *chamara*, are made from the tail of the yak (*Bos Grunniens*), not of horse-hair, cf. p. 401, l. 23.]

Page 71. * [For his death see V. A. Smith, *E.H.I.* 1908, pp. 137, 398.]

Page 72. * [Hemāvatī, Pārvatī, the wife of Mahādeva.]

Page 74. * [The date is doubtful. Alberuni (trans. Sachau ii. 9, 103) says A.H. 416, and this is probably correct. See Elliot and Dowson, ii. 468. V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp. 193, 197, gives December D. 1023 (A.H. 414)—April 1026. Forbes follows Firishta.]

PAGE 75 * [[The ruins are those of the temple built by Kumārapāla, 1143–74.] *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. i. 189. The old temple destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni was a wood and brick structure. *Ibid.*, p. 167.]

PAGE 76. * [Abūl Hasan. Briggs, *op. cit.* i. 71.]

PAGE 77. * [This story is apocryphal, and only occurs in late authorities. *Vide* Elliot and Dowson, ii. 476.]

† [Ibn Asīr says Khandahat, 240 miles from Somnāth. For attempted identifications, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. i. 167, *note* 4.]

PAGE 78. * [The story is again from Firishta (Briggs, i. 75). Cf. Elliot and Dowson, ii. 249.]

PAGE 82. * [*Imp. Gaz.*, 1908, xx. 244.]

PAGE 83. * [Sivasthān or Sivastān, the modern Sehwān. Elliot and Dowson, i. 14, 27, 37, 401 ; ii. 397.]

PAGE 84. * [Goud, i.e. Bengal. See p. 119.]

PAGE 89. * [i.e. Adināth, the first Tīrthaṅkara.]

† [Tipera, Trīpura, the modern Tevur, a few miles from Jubbulpore. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. ii. 214, 225, 240.]

PAGE 93. [Tod, *Annals*, ed. 1920, iii. 1453.]

† [See note to p. 70.]

PAGE 94. * [Pāvāgarh, i. e. Chāmpāner.]

PAGE 97. * [For another account, see *Imp. Gaz.* xxiv. 322.]

PAGE 102. * [Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.* 137, identifies this with the Jalandhar Doāb.]

PAGE 105. * [Fleet, *Bomb. Gaz.* I. ii. 567–8, identifies him with the Kādāmba Jayakeśu I.]

PAGE 107. * [In Muhammad Ūfi (Elliot and Dowson, ii. 169) this story is told of 'Gurpāl', i. e. Kumārapāla.]

PAGE 108. * ['Bāhūloḍa, apparently Bholāda on the Gujarāt-Kāthiāvāḍa frontier about 22 miles SW. of Dholkā.' *Bomb. Gaz.* I. i. 172.]

PAGE 120. * [Toda Tonk, 63 miles SW. of Jaipūr and 55 miles ESE. of Ajmer, lat. 26° 4′, long. 75° 39′.]

PAGE 150. * [A petty state in Rewā Kānthā.]

PAGE 151. * [According to the *Tārikh-i-Sorāth*, the Rāizādahs were descended from Bhūpat Singh, son of Rai Māndlik, the last Chudāsama king of Junāgadh. (Eng. trans., pp. 62, 124.)]

PAGE 152. * [A branch of the Chauhans.]

PAGE 154. * [Karaundā, *Carissa Carandas*, L.]

PAGE 156. * [The two accounts are mixed up. If she is Devarī (cf. p. 152, l. 1), she cannot be the daughter of Ror Pāwur.]

PAGE 159. * [Ten miles SW. of Anahilvāḍa, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. i. 198.]

† [Jhinjuwāda, *Kāthiāwār Gazetteer*, 459.]

PAGE 168. * ['The low-lying land bordering on the Cambay Run.' *Kāthiāwār Gazetteer*, p. 4.]

PAGE 169. * [A petty state in the Pālanpur Agency.]

PAGE 171. * [The Narbadā.]

PAGE 178. * [The Rājā of Sewālik (*Sapādlaksha*, 120,000 villages).]

PAGE 182. * [Called Puri in the copper plate grants, and variously

identified with Thānā, Dāndā Rājāpuri, Rājāpur, and Ghārāpuri (Elephant Island). Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, in *Bomb. Gaz.* I. ii. 283–4.]

PAGE 184. * [Gaṇḍa Bhāva Bṛihaspati, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. i. 189.]

PAGE 188. * [Kedārnāth in Garhwāl. The Khasyas are the oldest race in the Cis-Tibetan Himālaya. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*]

PAGE 199. * [For the Muhammadan version, *vide* Elliot and Dowson, ii. 294; Briggs' Firishta, reprint, i. 170.]

PAGE 200. * [Rather, 'simple', 'guileless'.]

PAGE 202. * [The Sewrās or Jain priests were skilful sorcerers. Jahāngīr expelled them for this. *Memoirs*, trans. Rogers and Beveridge, i. 438.]

† [Pālī in Mārwār. *Imp. Gaz.* xix. 359.]

PAGE 207. * [*Yamadanta*, tooth of Yama, the God of Death. *Jamdad*, *Jamdhara*, is perhaps *Yamadhara*, death bearer. *Janbiya* is from *janb*, 'side'. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*]

PAGE 209. * [Khichī, one of the twenty-four branches of the Chauhāns. Tod, *Rājasthān*, i. 115.]

PAGE 211. * [Nārada Ṛishi, inventor of the *Vīnā*, and chief of the Gandharvas.]

PAGE 214. * [Not a name but a title, 'Astrologer King' above. For the fatal results of obedience to prognostics, compare Bābur's *Memoirs*, ed. 1921, vol. i, p. 147.]

PAGE 215. * [A gross anachronism! Cf. p. 219, l. 12.]

PAGE 216. * [Śesha, the serpent on whose head the World rests. When he yawns, earthquakes result.]

PAGE 218. * [Dhruva, the Pole Star.]

PAGE 221. * [The Chickore, Sanskrit *chakora*, is the red-legged partridge, *Caccabis chukor*. It is also fabled to eat fire. *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*]

PAGE 222. * [Ghurjistān. Elliot and Dowson, ii. 281.]

PAGE 228. * [See pp. 113, 183, 192, and in addition, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. i. 19, and Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, *s.v.*]

† [The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* is a short historical compilation: Merutung also wrote the *Vichāraśreṇi*, which, though a mere list of kings, is more reliable.]

PAGE 247. * [*Kṛishṇarpaṇa*, dedicated to Krishṇa, hence any disinterested or charitable gift.]

PAGE 252. * [The two brothers built shrines at Ābū, Girnār, and Śatruñjaya. They were dedicated to Neminātha Tīrthaṅkara, and built A.D. 1231–2. *Bomb. Gaz.* I. i. 202.]

PAGE 257. * [Also C. E. Luard's *Notes on the Delwāra Temples and other Antiquities of Abu*, Bombay, 1902.]

PAGE 258. * [See V. A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 32–4. Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, ii. 623–5.]

PAGE 263. * [Dabhoi in Baroda State was, according to the *I.G.*, fortified 'early in the thirteenth century by the Vāghelas'. See Burgess and Cousens, *Antiquities of Dabhoi*, Edin. 1888.]

PAGE 265. * [The *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* was written by Hasan Muhammad

Khān, who suppressed the Ahmadābād riots in 1730. *Bomb. Gaz.* I. i. 310. It has been translated by Col. J. W. Watson, Bombay, 1876.]

PAGE 286. * [This is a sign of good luck, cf. *Ajānubāhu*, p. 101, l. 28.]

PAGE 289. * [For the phrase, see Tod, *Rājasthān*, i. 364. Humāyūn was *Rākhiband bhāi* of Rānī Karṇāvatī of Udaipur.]

PAGE 292. * [Hills in Mahi Kāntha, also sacred to Krishṇa and Rukmini.]

† [Mandor near Jodhpur, capital of the Panhār Rājputs till 1381, and of the Rāthors till 1459.]

PAGE 293. * [From the Sanskrit *vadh*, to cut, so called because they exterminated the Chāvdās of Dvārka. *Bomb. Gaz.* viii. 591.]

PAGE 295. * [*Kālī Chaudasa*, the 14th of the dark half of Aśvin, sacred to Kālī.]

PAGE 297. * [Sejakpur, 20 miles SW. of Wadhwān. An inscription at Jasdan shows that Sejakjī received it from the Rā of Junāgarh about A.D. 1236. *Bomb. Gaz.* viii. 651.]

PAGE 298. * [Arthila is the waste site now known as Hathila. Sārangjī received it after the marriage of his sister to Rā Khengār. For the story, see *Bomb. Gaz.* viii. 450–1. Māndvi is in Pālitāna, *ibid.* 542.]

PAGE 299. * [See the note on the Sewras, Jain Magicians, p. 202, l. 22.]

PAGE 302. * [An anachronism. The rupee was first coined in the time of Sher Shāh, A.D. 1542–5. *Ain-i Akbari*, Trans. Blochmann, i. 31.

† [For *trāgā* and *dharna* see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*]

PAGE 303. * [See p. 247, *note* *.]

PAGE 304. * [Umarkoṭ, 25 miles WNW. of Bhāvnagar. Bhimrād, a *thāna* in the Sorāth Sarkār.]

PAGE 305. * [Nīm, Skt. *nimba*, the *Azadirachta Indica*, a common tree, of great medicinal value.]

PAGE 308. * [Gundi-Koliāk, two villages on the banks of the Māleshvari river, five miles S. of Gogha.]

PAGE 313. * [i.e. Nemināth, to whom Girnār is sacred.]

PAGE 353. * [The Mahommedan name for Junāgarh.]

† [' The old name for the territory now comprised in the states of Dangarpur and Banswārā.' *I.G.* xi. 380.]

PAGE 354. * [This is a popular corruption of Pāvāgarh. *I.G.* ix. 135. Cf. ' Pāwaitchas ' on p. 355, l. 7.]

PAGE 355. * [The correct form is Muḥammadābād. The mistake is repeated on p. 361, l. 10.]

PAGE 356. * [Forbes is here, as often, misled by Briggs. Firishta gives the date as 2nd Ziqa'ad 889 A.H. = 21st November 1484. The *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* says 5th Ziqa'ad, i.e. Nov. 24th.]

PAGE 357. * [Compare Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, trans. Irvine i. 137.]

PAGE 358. * [Capital of the Bhāvnagar Gohils before the acquisition of Sihor, about 25 miles WNW. of Bhavnagar and 17 miles W. of Sihor.]

† [*Atīta*, a Śaivite sect.]

PAGE 359. * [Gir is one of the ten suffixes appended to the names of

the Daśnāmi Dandis, or disciples of Śankarāchārya. H. H. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, Calcutta reprint, 1899, p. 130.]

PAGE 360. * [Firishta (Briggs iv. 71) gives the officer's name as 'Kowam-ul-Mulk' and that of the admiral as Safdar-ul-Mulk. But see Bayley, *op. cit.* 217–18, and *note*, 219.]

PAGE 364. * ['The Rājā sought the intercession of Malik Gopi, a Brāhman and a minister of the Sultān.' (*Mirāt-i-Sikandari, apud* Bayley, 249–50.) He was the maker of the famous Gopi Talāo. He is called Melikopi in the Portuguese writers. For his death see *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, 296–7.]

PAGE 370. * [He was murdered by his slave Burhān on the anniversary of the Prophet's death, 12 Rabī i. 961 A.H. = Feb. 15, 1554. Bayley, p. 448.]

PAGE 372. * [These names are incorrect. The first should be Azīz Khān Koka (Khān-i-Aazam). Akbar's second son was Shahzada or Sultān Murād. Bukht is unintelligible. The youngest son of Shāh Jahān was Murād Bakhsh.]

† [Dharampur in the Surat Collectorate. *I.G.* xi. 296.]

PAGE 374. * [Forbes is here misled by Gladwin. Abul Fazl wrote *Maabid-i-Jain*, i.e. 'It (Śatruñjaya) is a place of worship of the Jains'. See Jarrett's trans., ii. 247.]

† [Jethvā, the clan to which the Rānas of Porbandar belong.]

PAGE 375. * [This is wrong. It was Rā Khengāra (Bhāra) of Kachh who betrayed Muzaffar and received his ancestral district of Morvi as a reward. *Bomb. Gaz.* I. i. 272.]

PAGE 381. * [See note on p. 384.]

PAGE 384. * [This is an anachronism. Chitor was taken in 975 A.H. (1568 A.C.) and Udaypur in 984 A.H. (1576 A.C.).]

PAGE 385. * [Pasāya, Skt. *Prasāda*, favour, gift.]

PAGE 388. * [This suggestion is chronologically untenable. All the Mirzas had been put to death or otherwise disposed of before this.]

PAGE 389. * [The offering of rice-balls to the *manes* of the deceased on the twelfth day after his death.]

PAGE 391. * [i.e. let loose in the *Chaugān* or Public Square.]

† [Guj. *Gadhvi*, a bard.]

PAGE 392. * [One of the Mahīkānthā States. *I.G.* xvii. 14.]

PAGE 394. * [Soron in the Etah district, U.P. Pilgrims stop there to bathe on their way from Mathurā. *I.G.* xxiii. 89.]

PAGE 399. * [One of the Mahīkānthā States. *I.G.* xvii. 13.]

PAGE 401. * [This is the *Panjā*, a symbol of immemorial antiquity in the East. The *Farmāns* of the Mughals bore the impression of the imperial hand in vermilion. Manucci, ii. 388; iii. 231, &c.]

PAGE 406. * [The Aśoka tree, *Jonesia Asoka* (Roxburgh).]

† [Bahmanwā in Alberuni, the Bahmanābād of the Mahommadan historians, and probably the Patala or Patalene of Alexander's invasion, at the head of the old Indus delta, 25° 50′ N., 68° 50′ E.]

PAGE 424. * [Pratāpgarh. *I.G.* xx. 9.]

† In Mahīkānthā. *Op. cit.* xvii. 13.]

PAGE 433. [Necklace of Skulls (*rundha*).]


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